

THE EDUCATION OF A COMMUNITY

THE
EDUCATION
OF A COMMUNITY
TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

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PREFACE

THE main thesis of this volume can be stated in very simple terms. The institutions of a community, including its educational system or systems, reflect of necessity the values upon which the community is based. If the community is "pegged" or decadent, its institutions will have no purpose other than this. If it is dynamic and developing, there will be added to this first function a second one—that of being a weapon in its creative armament.

The educational system of a community should be, therefore, both a reflector and a creator of social values. It *must* be the former, for there is no escape from this. It *can* be the latter, if those concerned with education bring knowledge and faith and will to their task.

A widespread and intense challenge to-day confronts those communities which are struggling, however imperfectly, to express the basic democratic values. The response to that challenge must be neither the abandonment nor the weakening of these values, but a clearer and more truthful statement of them, and an action based more rigorously upon them. If we are genuine in our support of these principles we shall see to it that the community of which we are members establishes an educational system which will aid in its creative purpose and not be a brake upon its achievement.

In such a community there will be an educational system which will provide for the development and utilisation of all the energy potential in its children and young people. This implies that there must be genuine equality of educational opportunity for all. This volume suggests some of the changes necessary in the English systems of education if this objective is to be gained, and if the response is to be adequate to the challenge of the age. It does not attempt to formulate a system complete in all its details, for at the present stage such a task would be an impossible one to carry out. It is concerned with the purpose of education and with the integration of all

the educational effort of the community in the fulfilment of that purpose. We have to decide what is relevant to the educational purpose of a democratic community and then how these relevant factors can be integrated so that the desired objective can be attained.

I owe very much to the assistance of two of my colleagues—Miss E. M. Hubbuck and Mr. Randal Keane, M.A. Without their help the task of preparing this volume under the existing conditions would have been an impossible one. With their ready co-operation it has been converted into a possible and pleasant one.

H. G. STEAD.

CHESTERFIELD,
September, 1941.

CONTENTS

PART I

SOCIETY AND EDUCATION

CHAPTER	PAGE
I. INTRODUCTORY	I
II. THE CHALLENGE TO SOCIETY	4
III. THE CHALLENGE TO EDUCATION . . .	6
IV. EDUCATIONAL TRADITIONS IN ENGLAND . .	11
V. SECURITY AND ADVENTURE	16
VI. THE SOCIAL PATTERN AND ITS INTEGRATION .	22
VII. BEYOND THE NATION	33

PART II

ENGLISH EDUCATION TO-DAY

I. INTRODUCTORY	38
II. THE PRE-HADOW SYSTEM	42
III. FISHER AND HADOW	49
IV. THE SPENS REPORT	66
V. ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE	70
VI. CURRICULA AND METHODS	79
VII. BEYOND THE SCHOOL	84

PART III

REORGANISATION

I. INTRODUCTORY	95
II. THE BASES, THE BACKGROUND AND THE ADVENTURE	99

CHAPTER	PAGE
III. CURRICULA AND METHODS	126
IV. EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH	141
V. TEACHERS AND OTHERS	146
VI. ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE	155
VII. BEYOND THE WAR	157
INDEX	163

TABLES AND DIAGRAMS

PRE-HADOW SCHOOL SYSTEMS	43
PRE-HADOW EDUCATIONAL SYSTEMS IN RELATION TO SUBSEQUENT EMPLOYMENT	44
DIVISIONS OF PRE-HADOW SECONDARY EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM	45
APPROXIMATE EDUCATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF CHIL- DREN AND ADOLESCENTS—1895	47
HADOW SCHOOL SYSTEM	56
SUGGESTED FUSION OF SECONDARY AND ELEMENTARY SYSTEMS	61
APPROXIMATE EDUCATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF CHIL- DREN AND ADOLESCENTS—1935	61
TYPES OF AREAS OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION .	71
AVERAGE ATTENDANCE IN LARGEST L.E.A. AREAS .	71
GROUPING OF AREAS BY SIZE OF SCHOOL POPULATION	72
DISTRIBUTION OF BOROUGHES AND URBAN DISTRICTS ACCORDING TO SIZE	73
COST OF EDUCATION PER CHILD IN VARIOUS AREAS .	76
PROPOSED SCHOOL SYSTEM	118
PROPOSED EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM	119
GRADING BY STREAMS	137

PART I

SOCIETY AND EDUCATION

Chapter I

INTRODUCTORY

THE history of men, both as individuals and in their societies, might well be written around the theme of "Challenge and Response." There is no such thing as the static individual or society. To different societies, in different environments and in different ages, the challenge has come in varied ways; but in one way or another it comes inevitably, and upon the capacity of the individual or the society to find the appropriate and dynamic response has depended the progress or decline of the unit or the group. A facile acquaintance with the theory of evolution has latterly developed in the minds of many the idea that there is in the nature of progress something of the gradualness of inevitability. Nothing could be more remote from the truth. The challenge comes and has to be met. The successful response to one challenge is the seed-plot of its successors. The challenge to mankind to produce the necessities of life for an increasing population has been followed by the challenge so to control the sources and weapons of such production that they may serve their proper function and not be debased by misuse.

Further, the challenge must be met upon the ground on which, and at the time at which, it is issued. The response must be that of the present generation. It is useless to reflect upon how splendidly and adequately our grandparents would have dealt with it, and it is equally futile to think that the challenge can be entirely met by educating our grandchildren to deal with it. True it is that this latter attitude has more to commend it than the former one, but it may well be that unless we take thought and action now, our grandchildren may be at too great a

disadvantage in the struggle. To retreat into the past or to dwell wishfully upon the future is to withdraw from the present in the face of the challenge and so to admit defeat. Neither is the adoption of some temporary expedient an adequate answer. In such a case, the challenge comes again with renewed strength and the battle has to be refought. The unemployment problem of pre-war days in the industrial sphere, and the results of Munich in the political one, have surely taught us this lesson.

A fourth unsatisfactory response is a denial that the challenge exists. There are two variations of this. The first is made by those who realise that there *is* a challenge but who refuse consciously to admit it, and who therefore act as if it did not exist. The second is that of those individuals who are so blind that they cannot see the challenge and who are therefore in action like Nero, prepared to fiddle while Rome burns. The first class denies the presence of the challenge through fear; the second through ignorance. Neither fear nor ignorance is a weapon with which a challenge can be met and fought.

Perhaps even more dangerous than the responses referred to above is that which adopts the attitude that all that is necessary is a passive resistance to the challenge instead of an active going out to meet it. Recent events have made it possible for this type of response to be described as that of the "Maginot" mind. It concentrates upon defence—it believes the challenge will exhaust itself upon the rocks which surround the island fortress. It visualises the response to the challenge as the restoration of the life of the pre-crisis days. It forgets that the old situation plus the challenge creates a new set of conditions which are themselves the challenge and to which the old response must inevitably be inadequate. To forget this vital fact is to allow concentration on one factor in the situation to result in blindness to all the others. After the present war, when the lights go up, the theatres open, and food and petrol are unrationed, there

will be many who think that the millennium has come. And they will be hurtfully surprised when in another decade or two they find the challenge to their standards reappearing in another and more dangerous form.

Neither dreaming of the past, nor thinking wishfully of the future, nor devising some temporary expedient, nor denying that the challenge is present, nor acting defensively, is an adequate response to any challenge. Temporary measures may be necessary pending more radical action; planning for the future is desirable if past mistakes are to be avoided, and defensive action may be an essential preliminary to attack. But the only adequate and completely satisfactory answer to any challenge is that which meets it here and now and meets it with all available forces, material, mental and spiritual. The challenge is to us, and the response has to be our own. Our own future as well as that of the community of which we are members depends upon the recognition of this truth. The essence of the intelligently creative act is to produce the new and appropriate response to any given situation. The community which can thus act creatively will survive the challenge and emerge beyond its testing period dynamic and invigorated. Thought and action must be combined in a unitary whole and the more intense the challenge the greater is the need for a wider knowledge and total communal response.

Chapter II

THE CHALLENGE TO SOCIETY

THE last hundred years have witnessed the gradual development of that challenge to our civilisation of which the present war is at once the symbol and the culmination. It is probably true to say that totalitarian warfare makes the challenge one which threatens every aspect of the life of our society and which involves the participation in the struggle of each section of it. Our society is usually said to be a democratic one. How far this statement is true will be discussed later on. But in so far as it is a democracy it must be remembered that democracy is something to fight with, as well as to fight for. The totalitarian conception of society inevitably challenges the basic principles of our society. The latter have to be examined in an effort to determine how far they are satisfactory basic principles for a society, how far they fulfil the proper aims of a good society, how far we have applied them, and how far we have shirked their implications. This is a hard process, but it should be a ruthless one. The fault may be not in our principles, "but in ourselves that we are underlings." But the principle must be stated anew to meet the circumstances of the present world: we must examine our wills, our faith, our knowledge, to see in which respects we have failed. It may be that failure has come through ignorance on our own part—due to sloth. It may be that it is the result of an acquiescence in, if not approval of, the maintenance of a state of ignorance in others. Whatever the reason, if we are to survive and go forward beyond the challenged world to a new one, we must take appropriate and, if necessary, ruthless action here and now. To admit mistakes and to be fired with a firm purpose to rectify them, is to commit ourselves to an act of national repentance which is the essential preliminary to paving the way to a new life.

Although to discuss educational reform, as it were, in

vacuo, is a useless task and an escape into the future, there are urgent duties awaiting those who appreciate the vital connection between the values of a community and the institutions which it establishes. The institutions of any society must inevitably reflect the values of that society. If it were otherwise the institutions would be in conflict with the society and would soon be abolished or altered. Education is one of the institutions of society. It, therefore, like all other institutions, is an expression of the basic values of the society. If the values of a society are success in competition, the acquisition of wealth, the participation in charitable effort, a substitution of the history of culture for living culture, and so on, then the educational system set up by such a society will inevitably show the same set of values.

This point is basic to all that follows. So much has been written about education which, although delightful reading, stimulating to the imagination, and acceptable to the emotions, has failed to have any concrete effect because education is dealt with as something apart from the society which has given rise to it. Young teachers come into the schools fired with commendable enthusiasm for modern improved methods. Successively they feel baffled, bewildered, and frustrated. Sometimes they never discover the real reason for all this. They blame the system, the Head, the apathy of other teachers. Only rarely do they see that the source of the trouble lies in the society of which the school is a part. It is this fact that makes for a developing sense of frustration. Some few leave the profession; others settle down to a routine job done in a routine way; some join progressive education societies and get relief thereby; few take the path of real sociological research which alone can determine the root causes of things and indicate the correct point of attack for the remedying of evils.

Chapter III

THE CHALLENGE TO EDUCATION

AND now totalitarian war is emphasising anew in a bitter manner the fact that the institutions of a society are an essential part of it. Totalitarian warfare is warfare *by* all the individuals of the state *in* all the institutions of the state. None can escape the conscription of the totalitarian dictator. All have to serve and serve as instructed. Nor can any institution in the opposing community claim freedom from attack, even if it would. For modern war is total attack *by* all—the community, its institutions, its peoples, its inventions and its culture—*on* all.

So the challenge to educationists is of a twofold nature. In the first place it is a challenge to our society. This implies that the basic principles of this society must be examined and criticised. The principles of the society which we must create if we are to survive and progress beyond the challenge must be determined. In the second place the challenge is to the educational system itself. How far is it expressive of these new or revised principles? What changes in administration, organisation, curricula and methods are essential if the values of the new society are to be sustained and developed by its educational system? From another angle it can be said that the educationist has a twofold task in periods of crisis and challenge. He has to help the younger generation through the crisis with as little damage to their development as is humanly possible, and he has at the same time to be taking the steps necessary to reconstruct the educational services as and whenever possible, in order that they may be adequate to the new situation which is bound to develop when the physical war ceases. To expect to be able to “muddle through” is no longer an intelligent reaction, even if it were considered so at one time. The tempo of life has changed, and while we are endeavouring to muddle through, the situation changes again and we are perpetually trying to educate

our grandmothers. The process may be amusing, but is hardly one which commends itself to intelligent people. We must work *now* at maintaining and expanding our existing educational service, taking steps here and there which will make easier the more essential, radical post-war reconstruction. And we must work *now* at our reconstruction proposals in order that we may be prepared. If it is objected that it is impossible to undertake two such tasks at one and the same time, the answer is that we *must* do so or *perish*. When the great challenge comes to any community it must be greatly met. What appeared to be impossible in less urgent days now becomes essential. In the intensity of our response lies the only hope of discovering the adequate reply to the challenge. The twofold task is necessary and must be carried out. Such is the only point of view for those who are active democrats.

The three marks of the democratic mind are :

- (1) A readiness to search for the truth irrespective of personal prejudices or vested interests and a willingness to prosecute this search in the face of all obstacles and difficulties,
- (2) A determination to follow the truth wherever it may lead, and
- (3) A belief that the real joy in life arises from the fact that there are problems to be solved and that all men must participate in their solution and not be ready merely to accept "ready-made" the solutions provided from some "authoritarian" source. The ready-made standardised suit may solve a tailoring problem, but it cannot solve the problem of living.

Now the exercise of this democratic temper is only possible in a society in which investigation and research are welcomed and in which dogmatic assertion and counter-assertion are recognised as unwholesome. In the sphere of education it means, further, that the research must be sociological in its outlook. We must, as Professor

F. Clarke has put it, "relate educational development to deep-seated movements in social and cultural history, to the play of forces throwing now this class, and now that, into leadership and prominence, and giving the colour of 'national' to forms and institutions which are really only the expression of a particular phase. Taking such a standpoint . . . the true history of English education has not yet been written . . . the writing of it has hardly begun.

"The task is one calling for many workers, endowed with a rich and not very common equipment of social and historical insight and training. Such workers are not yet available. . . ."

This raises the whole question of educational research. The fact that there are some slight indications of the necessity for this is welcome even if the recognition is somewhat belated. Two essentials for the prosecution of this research are an adequate volume of financial support for it and the training of the necessary corps of investigators. At present much so-called research takes the form of discussions very much on a par with the idle speculations on theological niceties which marked the Dark Ages. There is an interesting resemblance between the interminable discussions on the marking of essays and those on the number of angels capable of dancing on a pin point, and both have about the same practical value—all that need be said about either can be said in a very few words. Many of the investigations of to-day concern matters which would be seen in an entirely different light if their social origins were disentangled.

The urgency of this question of research is clear at a time when reorganisation and reconstruction are so much in the air. The President of the Board of Education has announced that he and his staff are at work upon a new "Testament" of education. The term used is a little disquieting. Who are its major prophets and what faith will it profess? And when promulgated will it continue to be a Testament—accepted unquestioningly by the "faithful"? Will it be for the "chosen people" only

and will it exclude all others? The only indications that have been given as to its contents do not inspire much confidence. They consist of the fixing of "appointed days" when two measures (Continuation Schools and a raising of the School Leaving Age to 15), already on the Statute Book, shall come into force. One of these was a product of the last war and the other a "between the wars" project. Will the situation at the end of this war demand nothing more original than this? Then there has been a reference to the lengthened school life. The Parliamentary Secretary to the Board of Education has stated that he does not anticipate any great extension of the post-primary curriculum, but that by spreading the present three-year courses over four years pupils will have more time to overcome difficulties and master each phase of a subject. This appears to regard the pre-war curriculum as suitable for a post-war world, whereas the truth is that it was quite unsuitable even for the pre-war world. Many years ago, when Sir Charles Trevelyan's Bill for raising the school leaving age to 15 was before Parliament, *Punch* had a cartoon in which a lad of 14 was depicted as saying that he "didn't want another dose of the same old stuff." Apparently we are to be said to "progress" if we serve up the same dose as before but in smaller quantities at a time.

The Association of Education Committees, the Association of Directors and Secretaries, the National Union of Teachers and many other semi-official and unofficial bodies have also appointed "reconstruction" committees, but there is little evidence that the fundamental preliminary research work is in progress. Until it has been carried out there can be no effective reconstruction. When it has been carried out progress can be made only if those with prejudices and those with vested interests in one or other sections of the field are willing to accept and follow the lines indicated by the results of the research workers. There is, therefore, a twofold task. The first concerns the actual research work—its financial needs,

the selecting and training of the workers, its publication and its dissemination. It should be noted that the research can fail to be effective for either of two reasons. The research workers may be limited or may be concerned with "proving" doctrines and not elucidating facts (as in Nazi Germany), or the results of the investigations may be put into cold storage and not made commonly known (a method which has often been adopted to prevent the spread of "dangerous" doctrines). The second task is more strictly an educational one—that of developing the type of citizen who will demand and be prepared to act upon the results of research. This means the breaking down of certain complexes developed by one set of social values and the building up of others based on the changed values. The technique of this process is one about which we know little, but it is one which becomes increasingly important. Ignorance comes from lack of research workers, from the lack of facilities to spread newly won knowledge, or from that blindness in human beings which makes them apathetic to the value of the knowledge for themselves and their fellows.

Chapter IV

EDUCATIONAL TRADITIONS IN ENGLAND

It has often been pointed out that there are in England three systems of education—the Public School system, the Secondary School system, and the Elementary School system, and that these are separated vertically and not horizontally. The Elementary system is not elementary for all, but is the whole of education for the majority of those included within it. Some few, by performing the mental acrobatic feat of gaining success in a transfer examination, manage to effect a sideways jump, and land in the Secondary School division. The Public School system is quite apart from the other two and is not public in any ordinary sense of the word, but rigorously private. As a matter of fact there is a fourth system, the Technical Education system, poised precariously in a position of unstable equilibrium above the Elementary and Secondary systems. This technical education is given in a variety of institutions ranging from the Junior Technical School to the Technical College. The Spens Report suggested the establishment of Technical High Schools of equal status with the existing Secondary Schools, but no actual developments in this direction have yet occurred. At present technical education ranks as superior to Elementary but definitely inferior to Secondary education. What has given rise to this state of affairs?

To be able to answer the question fully would be to be able to write that history of English education the absence of which Professor Clarke rightly laments. In mediæval times there were three functioning groups in the community:

- (a) Those who fought and ruled.
- (b) Those who administered and prayed.
- (c) The workers on the land.

The coming of Mercantilism saw power pass from the hands of the first class into the hands of the merchant

princes—a new social grouping. The subsequent development of modern factory industrialism saw the development of another new group, who “had no spot of earth to call their own and with no status of independence in industry.” In other words, power passed from the hands of the individual ruler into those of an aristocracy of the land, and from the latter to the merchant princes and industrial magnates. The present situation is that we have given the means of political power, i.e. the vote, to the worker, but rendered the gift valueless by failing to provide adequate education for him. The result is that the employment of unscrupulous propaganda replaces a rational consideration of vital issues. As each class successively achieved the dominant position in society, so the institutions, including the educational system, of each class came to be viewed as national, instead of merely as those of a phase or a class, as in reality they are.

While political power was being transferred, corresponding changes took place with regard to the administrative class. Briefly the change is from that of the cleric or lawyer employed to carry out his master's instructions to that of the Civil Servant and Local Government Officer carrying out the instructions of Government Departments. But if the master has changed, the function is the same—it is purely interpretative. An extension of the field covered by Government regulation has led to an extension of the number of those employed in the interpretative function.

The third group—the workers on the land—have again subdivided. To-day some remain as agricultural workers but the majority have become industrialised and have now no real affinity with their fellow rural workers. The rapid increase in the population of the country during the twentieth century was almost entirely an increase in the number of industrial workers.

The functional needs of the aristocratic age gave rise historically to the Public School system, although it was not then in the isolated and privileged position which it

has assumed in more recent times. The attitude of the merchant princes to education was much more realistic, and so views as to the right content of education underwent a change. Mathematics and science, history and geography and modern languages began a struggle for supremacy with the classics. Gradually the curricula of both the Public Schools and the Secondary Schools were affected. In the latter schools the classics fought a losing battle; in the former they retained their dominant position. At the other end of the social scale the new industrial workers, living herded together in wretched hovels, with no means of cultural development, were beginning to excite the pity and the charity of their less hardened masters. From the ensuing charitable movement developed the existing Elementary School system.

In these facts are to be found the origins and original functions of the four existing systems of education in this country. From the needs of mediæval aristocracy came the Public School system, while from the needs of the interpretative class came the Secondary School system, both of which were affected by the realism of the merchants. From the demands of modern industry came the technical system and from the charitable feelings of the twentieth-century employer came the Elementary School system.

Professor Clarke has distinguished four traditions in English education and described them as follows:

(a) *The Public School System*

“Everywhere it expresses the outlook and the ideal-structure of a dominant class. Its procedure is expensive, its adhesion in curricula is to the aristocratic temper of the classics, its ties with controlling groups and influences in society are multifarious and intimate, and its educational defence of itself is never quite pure, always more or less infected by the necessities of social defence. Viewed historically it is, in its present form, a comparatively recent thing; the class-restricted survival of a rich

functional ideal that, in the Middle Ages, covered the whole nation. The spirit of that ideal finds magnificent expression in Milton's great definition of the purpose of education: 'I call, therefore, a complete and generous education that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully and magnanimously all the offices, both private and public, of peace and war.' "

(b) *The Dissenter Tradition*

"It was democratic, though often not very strongly so; it was usually devout, and above all it was realistic in its attitude to the practical world. This realism was shown both in its readiness to use public funds for educational purposes, and especially in its conception of the curriculum. When Dissenters set up their own 'academies' in the eighteenth century, mathematics and science, history and geography and modern languages very largely shouldered out the classics. But the tradition itself is much older. The fact that so great a man as Milton was its prophet is obscured by the comparative accident that in his *Tractate of Education* the text-books he recommended were written for the most part in Latin and Greek. (What others were then available?)"

(c) *The "Elementary" Tradition*

This is "in itself much more social than educational. It arises when there emerges, especially in the towns, a class of poor wholly dependent upon wages. That is, with no spot of earth to call their own and with no status of independence in industry. Charity Schools, 'Schools of Industry' and Sunday Schools precede in this tradition the Elementary School of our day. Even now the 'elementary' system is still largely a thing apart, not really accepted as part of their own life by the ruling interests, and not assimilated to the life of the masses as are, for instance, the trade union and the 'co-op.'

"Yet, potentially, the elementary school is the seed-plot of a rich common culture, waiting to be assimilated

to the unity of national life at one end of the scale as the public school is waiting at the other end. Indeed, the formidableness of the job of integrating both of them in one rich common structure affords some measure of the task before us."

(d) *The Folk Tradition*

"We mean the songs, the tales, the rhymes, the games, the dances, the nature lore, and all the rest of the mixed brew that enriched the common life of a then rural people. The schools have discovered it too late to use it or save it, if indeed, in the face of urbanisation, it can be saved at all. But all too little attention has been given to the problem whether an industrialised urban population can hold together in real community of spirit without some such matrix of simple natural culture to bind and support them. Are the radio and the cinema and the ephemeral popular song the best we can do? In any case something of significant value will have gone out of English life and education when there is no longer a Folk Tradition of any kind at work."

Other strands can obviously be disentangled from this complex of motives and functions. Research will qualify some of the statements made above and amplify others. Enough has been said to indicate the urgent need for thorough-going, well-planned and co-ordinated research.

Chapter V

SECURITY AND ADVENTURE

SUMMARISING three articles dealing with education in Nazi Germany, *The Times Educational Supplement* recently said, "They bring out in unmistakable fashion the fact that, horrific though the physical struggle between the armies of democracy and those of Nazism must be, the spiritual struggle must be even sterner. This is why Education has such a crucial part to play, and why it must be conceived in the broadest terms and carried out along the broadest lines. It is the duty of educationists to discover every weakness in our social armour, and to see that it is remedied. In this connection two warnings given by the writer of articles on the German youth movements (who is afraid to draw generalised conclusions from the authoritarian story he has to tell) should receive the most profound attention. One is that 'no modern community is safe from revolution which denies its young people economic security and the opportunity for self-expression and considers its responsibility discharged when it has provided them with formal academic training,' and the other is that 'genuine youth movements are born, not made, and that organisations imposed upon the young from above are likely to have many of the weaknesses of the genuine article without its redeeming features of disinterested fervour and sincerity.'"

These two warnings are necessary. To take the second first, it is a restatement of the fact that the values of any educational system, or of any part of such a system, are the values of the society which develops that system. The youth movement, like any other branch of educational effort, will be authoritarian if the society for which it is established is authoritarian, i.e. it will be "imposed from above"; it can only be democratic in a fully democratic society, in which it can "grow." In mixed societies it will develop variable features. Where education is viewed as a charity by a society, the youth movement will

be viewed only as a charitable effort. This lesson of the intimate relationship between the values of society and its institutions is one which needs repeated stressing, particularly in view of the reorganisation of all our institutions which the present struggle is making inevitable. To attempt educational reforms apart from social considerations is to embark upon a course which must lead inevitably to disappointment and frustration.

The first warning states the two essential social conditions necessary for ordered progress. It points out the futility of assuming that education is a formal academic process of training—something that can be discussed and carried out apart from the society of which it must be an integral part. The writer emphasises the need for two things:

- (1) "Economic security" and
- (2) "Opportunities for self-expression."

These two demands, which might still be termed the minimal demands of everyone upon the community of which they are members, can be expressed in slightly more general terms. For a community to develop, or even to exist, there must be:

- (1) A secure background to life.
- (2) A field in which the adventure which is life itself can be conducted.

The first of these includes safety from individual and mass aggression, and economic security. Sometimes it is argued that such safety and security would result in the removal of the main spurs to action. But this point of view is caused by

- (1) The transference of motives to action in an existing society to a society based upon different values, and
- (2) The assumption that whereas some people can work disinterestedly, the many cannot.

Because in a world in which production has been for profit and not for use the main motive to action has been

the desire to obtain economic security, there is no ground for saying that the provision of economic security would sterilise all action. The fact is that the effort to obtain security has taken so much of the energies of mankind that the amount remaining for living has been negligible. Gaining a livelihood has come to be the aim of life, and the use of leisure time has been prostituted by the efforts of those who have seen in it a field for profits. With most people too exhausted by the struggle for economic security to devote much attention to the problem, and with the lack in real recreational facilities characteristic of the living conditions in most industrial areas, the appeal of the main amusements of the age is easy to understand. The Roman emperors held, cynically, that all the populace needed was "bread and circuses." In more recent times the "bread" has been gained by many people at such a cost in time and energy that the "circuses" have become increasingly shoddy. The winning of economic security is not living—it is not the object for which we live. If it were, then we should be driven in these days to the position that we should create a situation deliberately in which we expend all our energies in achieving an end which can be gained far more easily by planning and co-operation. We should have to destroy the products for which the means of production have been developed in order to make the object of life attainable. This is obviously an impossible position to take up. Security there must be, and one of the objects of planning and reorganisation must be to ensure that security is the right of everyone. The second argument—that with security people would cease to make an effort—is then seen in a clearer light. It is not that the desire for that adventure which is life is present in some people and absent in others, but that it is killed early in some and becomes atrophied in others. Thus the fear of insecurity spreads from the economic field to all fields, making adventure seem to be a source of fear rather than one of joy. This denies the democratic faith. The

democrat finds joy in the fact that there are problems to solve and that he can play his part in their solution. These problems must be *real* ones—not those to which he knows the solution (as that of economic security) and at the same time refuses to apply it. The real culture of an age grows out of the values of that age; it is not to be confused, as it is so frequently to-day, with a knowledge of the history of past ages. With a background of economic security, the present age would reach cultural heights unimagined to-day.

The second essential demand (that for an appropriate field in which the adventure of life can be carried out) is, in effect, a demand for a stimulating environment in which are to be found those qualities which make possible the development of the many potentialities of men. It is undeniable that such a field is needed before potential powers can be developed into actual ones, and it is equally undeniable that at present, for many people, no such field is available.

In a Report published in 1938 and prepared by Mr. L. P. Scott for the Shoreditch Housing Association it is stated, "Most of the children of Shoreditch have no privacy. They exist in the mass, live in overcrowded dwellings, play in the streets." In a preface to the Report, Mr. Howard Marshall says, "Imaginative play is impossible for the children of Shoreditch. The mass play which is the only form of recreation available for these youngsters produces the mass mind, and I need not elaborate the products of the mass mind in modern civilisation." The Report points out that basement and semi-basement dwellings are common. Indoor play facilities are impossible. The Borough of Shoreditch is one square mile in area. It contains only 9 acres of open spaces and nearly half of these are churchyards. One child in six suffers from some form of illness, including rheumatism, weak heart and bronchitis. The whole scene is one of drab monotony. The Report gives a revealing picture of the lives of large numbers of our

children. "Most of the children are living in overcrowded and insanitary homes, they work long hours, seldom get out of London, and few have profitable hobbies." Sixty-eight per cent. of the houses have no facilities for a proper bath at home; forty-eight per cent. have only a kettle as a means of obtaining hot water. Fifty-four per cent. of the children have not been out of Shoreditch for as much as a week during the past year, and of the forty-six who have, only twelve per cent. have been taken by relatives, the rest having been taken by various organisations. Seventy-two per cent. of the boys and sixty-four per cent. of the girls normally play in the streets. Fifty-nine per cent. of the boys and sixty-eight per cent. of the girls do not swim, cycle or play any outdoor games. Sixty-seven per cent. of the boys and sixty-eight per cent. of the girls find employment in or about Shoreditch. For nineteen per cent. of the boys and thirty-three per cent. of the girls the spread-over of the working day is ten hours, while it is ten and a half for forty per cent. of the boys and thirty-nine per cent. of the girls. The average wage is about 12s. 6d. per week for twenty-four per cent. of the boys and thirty-two per cent. of the girls, and 15s. per week for thirty-seven and thirty-five per cent. respectively.

That terrible picture of Glasgow in *No Mean City* creates a similar impression. In it, "Johnny," the typical young adolescent, has two great assets—physical strength and courage. But the only field for their use in his environment is that of gang warfare.

Another Report recently published tells the same tale. This Report is entitled "The Young Adult in South Wales" and is published by the University of Wales Press at the price of 1s. The figures quoted in it "show a vicious determinism in men's lives. They show that if it is your fate to be born in a poor home, of a large family, in a poor neighbourhood, of a father whose life is subject to unemployment, the chances are that you will have a minimum of education, that you will have no

training, that you will enter the industrial world through a series of blind-alley occupations, and that you will eventually, like your father, become unemployed."

And again, "The early handicaps are too great. Only a reorganisation of society can offer them (the children) any hope." Youth movements "can devise forms of escape mechanism which will offer substitutes for self-expression," or alternatively, "they can make demands on young people that will offer forms of direct self-expression." It is claimed that most adult education is too abstract. "It is useless to learn the art of healthy criticism in adult education classes if one find that the democratic state consists of political parties run by political bosses and bureaucrats who demand only servile followers. . . . If the adult education service is to claim the allegiance of young people, it must give them something to do as well as something to talk about."

Again and again it is the same story—that the field for that adventure which is life is almost negligible in the case of very many of the nation's children. Nor is it possible to give that full field which is both desirable and necessary in the schools if it is not also present in society as a whole. To do so is to make a plaything of education and to divorce it from all connection with life. The adult requires security and adventure and so do the child and the adolescent. They can only be obtained in a society which sees in them a desirable social objective and which has the will to struggle for their establishment. Until this has been done individual and communal effort and energy will continue to be frittered away upon the *means* of life instead of in obtaining the *ends* of life. Once more the intimate connection between society and education stands revealed.

Chapter VI

THE SOCIAL PATTERN AND ITS INTEGRATION

THE process of evacuation has brought to the light of day factors in the educational and social fields which have hitherto been unsuspected. This vast experiment in the transference of children from one type of environment to another is still in process. It is to be hoped that satisfactory records are being kept. Not only are statistics required, but records of individual cases and their reactions to the changed situation in which they have found themselves. The full sociological implication of the experiment has rarely been grasped. Groups of children have been taken from the communities within the community into which they were born and in which they have spent all their lives. They have been placed in other communities with different interests and a different cultural pattern. Some have gone overseas; some to a neighbouring county. During the history of the evacuation movement there have been three types of complaint. The first was that parents were unwilling to allow their children to be evacuated or the children unwilling to go. The second was that the children failed to settle down in the reception area; they tended to drift back to the old homes. The third complaint has been that a species of gang warfare has ensued between the "locals" and the "foreigners."

It can be admitted that those responsible for evacuation did not realise the magnitude of the task confronting them. It was never the *mechanics* of the process that broke down. The trains and buses were there and ran to time. The children who were going were well labelled, marshalled and controlled. The billets had been found and allotted. The failure of much of the effort expended on evacuation came from the fact that the hold, upon the parents and children alike, of the old cultural pattern of the life they had lived was not considered. This and that and that were the things to which they had been

accustomed from birth. Now they had all disappeared overnight and the background of their lives had completely changed. In the reception area the judgment of values was reversed. The ways of life customarily followed were to those in reception areas the "proper" way of life and the ways of the visitors were "strange." So developed tensions and misunderstandings. The urgent necessity for resolving these remained unappreciated. In some cases an effort was even made to maintain a smaller community of evacuees with ways of its own, within the larger community of the reception area. It was not appreciated that the social and cultural pattern of any group obtains a strong hold upon those born into it and that to uproot the individual and place him or her in another environment means that, for the moment, the anchorage of the known way of life has been lost. To uproot a grown plant and to reset it elsewhere is a delicate operation and one demanding much skilful craftsmanship. To uproot a child from its native community and to plant it in another is a still more difficult task.

It has to be realised what a strong hold the cultural pattern of the group in which they normally live has over individuals. This is bound up with the question discussed in the preceding section. The existing values of society are the determinants of the nature of the institutions of that society. These institutions, and all that mass of habits, customs and traditions bound up with them or carried over (often as "fossils") from an older society and its institutions, form that complex which is the cultural pattern of the community. Into this culture children are born and in it they develop. They come to believe in these values, institutions, habits and customs as normal and "right," and all variants as "funny" or even "evil." So the values and the institutions come to be uncritically defended, because each member of the community comes to feel that he or she has a vested interest in them.

This seems to be a vicious circle from which there is no escape. How can expression be given to the dual demand for security of background and an adequate field of adventure when present-day society is activated by *competition* for the possession of goods and the avoidance of unnecessary risks?

The answers to these questions would be far from the subject-matter of this volume. The would-be seeker for the answers would have to refuse to listen to the siren voices of the professional politicians, each possessing a complete, ready-made and entirely satisfactory remedy. He would have to participate in a thorough-going piece of sociological research. It might well be that he might decide that the complete answer to the questions cannot be given at the present time because the necessary sociological research has not yet been carried out. He would discover, probably, how true it is that sociological research has lagged behind physical research, and come to realise how much in our present situation is due to that lag. He would certainly come to the conclusion that the only way to a real solution of the problem was the exercise of the democratic method—the will to search for the truth, the determination to follow it when found (a much more difficult thing), and a joy in the wrestling with problems. Finally, he would see this problem as the challenge of the present age to himself and his fellows and he would understand that the finding of the right response means progress and the acceptance of the wrong one decay.

It is in times of crisis that the weaknesses of any society become apparent. It is this fact that provides the point of attack in the effort to break the vicious circle. A crisis emphasises some aspects of the communal life and so allows attention to be focussed upon them. Their full effect and meaning are then seen even by those who in more placid times would have been prepared to argue that no change was necessary. Hence arises a determination to effect such changes as will remove the unsatisfac-

tory values (and therefore institutions) in the communal life and replace them by others more in keeping with the aspirations of the community. There is always a danger here. If the crisis is prolonged and if its magnitude is great, then the mental and physical strain caused by it will be so hard to withstand that in retrospect the "old order" will take on a roseate hue, the future will appear uncertain or impossible of achievement. So a reversion to the old replaces a progression to the new—and the challenge is unanswered. This means that study and research must be followed by planning and action unless the opportunity is to be missed. The slower process of trial and error or "muddling through" may have been possible in more leisurely days. With the increased tempo of life it becomes a form of communal suicide.

The importance of the native cultural pattern in the life of any individual is clearly brought out in Ruth Benedict's *Patterns of Culture* (Routledge & Sons, Ltd.). "The life history of the individual is first and foremost an accommodation to the pattern and standards traditionally handed down in his community. From the moment of his birth the customs into which he is born shape his experience and behaviour. By the time he can talk, he is the little creature of his culture, and by the time he is grown and able to take part in its activities, its habits are his habits, its beliefs his beliefs, its impossibilities his impossibilities." The spread of Western civilisation has had important results. It has "protected us as man has never been protected before from having to take seriously the civilisations of other peoples; it has given to our culture a massive universality that we have long since ceased to account for historically, and which we read off rather as necessary and inevitable. We interpret our dependence, in our civilisation, upon economic competition, as proof that this is the prime motivation that human nature can rely upon, or we read off the behaviour of small children as it is moulded in our civilisation, as

child psychology, or the way in which the young human animal is bound to behave."

Another extract is worth quoting. "In culture, too, we must imagine a great arc on which are ranged the possible interests provided by the human age cycle, or by the environment, or by man's various activities. A culture that capitalised even a considerable proportion of these would be as unintelligible as a language which used all the clicks, all the glottal stops, all the labials, dentals, sibilants, and gutturals from voiceless to voiced, and from oral to nasal. Its identity as a culture depends upon the selection of some segments of this arc. Every human society everywhere has made such selection from its cultural institutions. Each from the point of view of another ignores fundamentals and exploits irrelevancies. One culture hardly recognises monetary values; another has made them fundamental in every field of behaviour." In other words, the cultural pattern of a community selects for development only a proportion of the potentialities of its members. It is clear that a different cultural pattern would result in other developments, and when the meagre possibilities contained in the pattern of life in such places as Shoreditch, South Wales and Glasgow are recalled, there ceases to be wonder at the impoverished lives of those brought up in such a field.

"Society," says Miss Benedict, "provides the raw material from which the individual makes his life. If it is meagre, the individual suffers; if it is rich, the individual has the chance to rise to his opportunity." The meagreness of much of the social environment in which our children grow up has been stressed. It is clear that the education *necessary* for the citizens of a democracy can *only* be given in that rich social setting which alone provides the opportunity for full development.

A significant piece of experimental evidence may be quoted here. It is taken from a description of the "Miniature Situation" tests in *A Guide to Mental Testing*, by R. B. Cattell. "In these tests the subject is given a

task to perform under difficult conditions, with opportunities to cheat, the test being so arranged that, though cheating is apparently safe, it can be detected with certainty. Opportunities are also presented to the student in which he can take credit to himself unfairly, steal and receive help when he should be working independently. With such tests, Hartshorn and May, curiously enough, concluded after the most careful work that has yet been carried out, that the notion of a general character factor cannot be said to hold for children, since a child who was quite honest in one test situation was not honest in another." They summed up: "The unselfishness, persistence or inhibition, that characterised a child's behaviour was closely tied up with the situation calling it forth, and could not be made the basis for generalisation about what would happen in all other situations." This clearly indicates one thing—that there are not honest or dishonest children, but only honest or dishonest situations. This should be remembered when assessing the effects of environments such as those described in this section.

In *Magnetic Mountain*, Mr. C. Day Lewis asks the question, "What do we ask for then?" and answers, "But that we may be given the chance to be men." The democratic state needs men and not robots. The "chance to be men" can only come in and through a social setting which is at once secure and is also an adequate field for adventure. Therefore the educationist is concerned with the development of such a setting as the essential preliminary to his more definitely educational work. To imagine that education can be satisfactory when the social setting is insecure and warped and narrow is to indulge in wishful thinking, in order to avoid facing up to the real issue. When the social pattern of the whole community and those of the various sub-communities are rooted in democratic principles, generous in potentialities and integrated in aim, education will take on the same characteristics.

In previous pages facts have been stated which indicate the effect of unemployment upon the social life of adults and therefore upon the educational opportunities of children. The problem of unemployment can only be solved by a reintegration of those unemployed into the society of which they were once a part. Other expedients for temporarily relieving the situation may alleviate this pressure of unemployment, but do not permanently cure it. The tragedy of the unemployed man or woman lies in the development of the idea that he or she is not wanted by his or her society—that they are outcasts and a burden and dependent for their sustenance upon some form of charity. They have no right to their maintenance, so it seems to them, but exist only by and through the good will of some of their fellows.

This need for the integration of a society is to be seen not only in the problem of the unemployed. It is the basic principle upon which any youth movement must be founded. The youth of any community is its greatest asset, for it is the force which alone can revitalise it and keep it dynamic. Youth is a revolutionary force and it has to be integrated into the social body if the latter is to use the dynamic power which youth alone can provide. The static society has no desire to be revitalised; the dynamic one must take measures to ensure its continued revitalisation. Hence they have entirely different approaches to the problems of youth. The solutions they propound and the methods whereby they endeavour to incorporate the younger generation within the communal fold will likewise be different. As has been pointed out already, youth movements may “devise forms of escape mechanisms that will offer substitutes for self-expression,” or “offer forms of direct self-expression.” Unless the youth of a community can be effectively and creatively integrated into it, it will remain a revolutionary force outside the community. The problem is one of converting this external revolutionary force into that inner dynamic force whereby a community gains renewed life and energy and

so fits itself to make the appropriate and creative response to the challenges that confront it. This means that the youth has to pass, as it were, from extra-community status to full membership. The two conditions for this are security and opportunities for self-development and expression. Against the background of the first of these and by means of the second the youth develops a sense of "belonging to" the community. That is, he will develop the ability to belong both to the community and yet to retain his power of criticism of it. Too often is it the case that "belonging to" becomes synonymous with "having a vested interest in," with the result that prejudice replaces reason in discussions relating to the community. So develops a conflict between the adult whose economic status gives him a vested interest and the youth who from without is rebellious. Again, it is the discovery of the technique of integration that is so urgent.

In any real community each individual feels that he has a place, and in the democratic community he feels that this place gives him the field which at one and the same time stimulates his potentialities and furnishes them with the means whereby they can be actualised. The community which cannot integrate all its adult members (and therefore has a large unemployment problem) is clearly decadent. The community which cannot integrate successive generations of its youth is static. That which can achieve both integrations is dynamic and creative. This integration can only be effective when the values of the society are in harmony, and when elements in which some section of the community has a vested interest are no longer allowed to linger after their usefulness has disappeared.

So there is need for a thorough examination of the social pattern of our community. It must be determined whether it is a pattern or a patchwork. It has been shown that out of the great arc of human potentialities any society chooses but a fraction. There are, then, two angles from which the necessary examination must be

carried out. In the first place it has to be decided whether we have chosen the best combination of potentialities as the basis of our own particular pattern. In the second place, it is necessary to inquire whether the pattern is an integrated one. For unless this is so the individual will remain himself unintegrated. How far would it be correct to say that for lack of this rigorous examination of our social pattern there are many men and women whose religious views, economic views and political views are in contradiction to one another? Commonly men try to live fractional lives—never living completely or wholly.

This lack of integration, because it is such a feature of present-day society, is reflected through the educational system of the community. It shows both in our attitude to, and treatment of, children, and in the curriculum of the schools. There is great need for the integration of the various services which have been developed to assist children, or which are now in the process of development. A child may have some physical ailment and he becomes a case for treatment at the clinic. He may have educational difficulties and become a retarded child. He may be emotionally mal-adjusted and be recommended for treatment at the Psychological Centre. He may have behaviour difficulties and be classed as a juvenile delinquent. He may be inadequately nourished and be provided with meals or milk, or both. It is not suggested that there is no co-ordination between the different branches of the service which deals with these various aspects of a child's development, but this co-ordination and collaboration does not go nearly far enough yet. So often is it the case that some slight illness means temporary absence from school and this absence means that some link (a number combination, etc.) is not formed. The absence of this link does not necessarily reveal itself immediately. But later on difficulties arise. These difficulties, because their real origin is rarely known, result in emotional disturbance and behaviour difficulties. These may affect physical health and so the vicious circle

continues. Work at a Children's Psychological Centre shows how very necessary it is to co-ordinate both investigations and treatment, in order that a picture of the complete child may be made and so that treatment may deal with the whole of the trouble and not only one aspect of it. In other words, the conception of education must be widened to cover all that which ministers to the development of the whole, integrated child. It can no longer be limited to that aspect which is more accurately defined as "schooling." For the child (as indeed for all) life is education and education is life. Perhaps if a Ministry of Childhood replaced the present Board of Education it would help to emphasise this point of view.

The curriculum of most schools is an unintegrated conglomeration of subjects. A few years ago there was much controversy as to the value of teaching Latin. The discussions were interesting because they showed the imaginative powers of those who participated in the discussions. The reasons given were mainly examples of rationalisation. It would be most interesting if typical time-tables from different types of schools could be taken and a careful inquiry made on the following lines:

- (1) When did each subject appear first in any school curriculum and what social conditions gave rise to its inclusion?
- (2) How far do changed social conditions warrant its retention?
- (3) What kind of curriculum do the present social conditions require?

There are, of course, other lines of inquiry. The point here is that subjects are included in present-day curricula for a whole variety of reasons, of which the following are typical:

- (a) *The influence of tradition.*—Originally part of the curriculum to serve a definite need, their place is now defended from entirely different motives.
- (b) *The influence of snobbery.*—Some subjects are intro-

duced because they are supposed to be the marks of some higher types of schools.

- (c) *The influence of some form of "higher" education on the "lower" one.*—E.g. the influence of the Universities on the Secondary Schools, of Senior Schools on Juniors, and so on.
- (d) *The influence of the qualifications and abilities of the staff.*—This is noticeable in Higher School work in Secondary Schools.

Many others, of course, may operate. They all point to the need for an integrated curriculum. It must be devised to serve the purpose of playing its part in the production of an integrated individual who is also an integral part of his community. This question of the curriculum will be referred to again later. It is mentioned here only as an example of the lack of integration which exists in our social pattern to-day.

So the task is to achieve a more integrated society which will devise more integrated institutions, and in particular a more integrated educational service. This will work through an integrated view of the nature of the growth of children and will demand integration of the curriculum and a closer unity of content and method. This integration is not the same as enforced conformity to a static social pattern. It is that dynamic integration which alone can bring renewed life to the community. It means the application of effort at the best point of attack on our problems. It provides the only background against which the individual can effect a satisfactory and satisfying integration of his own personality.

Chapter VII

BEYOND THE NATION

THE individual lives in a social and cultural pattern which contains elements derived from a number of groups of which he is a member. His occupation, his geographical position, his place in the time sequence, and a host of other factors contribute strands in that complex which determines so much of his mode of life and standard of culture. Great discoveries, both of his own age and those of other ages, by his fellow countrymen and by those of other peoples, affect it. The discovery of the Americas, of the printing press, and of the steam engine, of the loom, and the wireless, have resulted in changes in the mode of men's lives which inevitably alter the cultural pattern. So, too, the increased tempo of life in modern times will cause changes. The increase in the speed of all means of communication, and in particular the developments of the press, the cinema and the wireless, will be an operative factor. So more threads are introduced into the pattern and some old threads cease to be serviceable. Far too frequently these old threads retain an influence on the present-day pattern long after they have ceased to serve any practical value. If recognised for what they are, they do not do active harm, perhaps. If unrecognised, they may make the pattern unsuitable for the present because it remains attuned only to the past.

For many children the pattern of their lives, as has been indicated, is determined by that of the immediate residential and functional group to which they and their parents belong. The factors outlined above do, however, tend to bring about changes in this state of affairs. The national pattern of culture determines the broad general outline within which the patterns of the communities within it can be woven. In other words, national values are reflected in local culture. Something additional, something local, also enters into it. In fact, it is not so

long ago that the social and cultural patterns in local communities differed so much as to make those brought up in one "foreigners" to those brought up in another. But increased means and speed of communications have altered, and are still altering, all this. The common elements in the sub-communities of which the national community is comprised tend to outweigh the more purely local ones. The old comparative cultural isolation of the mining village, the agricultural hamlet, the industrial village, tends to break down. One effect is that the individual is not so integrated with his fellows. He has partly lost his roots. His established place in the old small functional unit has largely disappeared and he has as yet not fully established himself in the larger society. It is this fact to which Professor F. Clarke, in the passage quoted earlier, refers when he says that the Folk Tradition is important and that there is need to find the modern equivalent of it. It is somehow a case of developing wider loyalties and, while inventions have made this development essential to the well-being of the modern community, sociological science has not yet determined the techniques by which it can be achieved. The urgent need for it has led to the enforced solution of the totalitarian regime. The democratic state has a far more difficult task because the solution has to develop from the members of the community themselves.

These considerations raise the question as to whether this process is to stop or, in fact, whether it can be stopped, and whether it is desirable that it should be stopped at national frontiers. Are there developing in national cultures elements which arise from still wider groupings of human beings? Is there such a thing as an English-American culture, a Western European culture, a European culture and an ultimate human culture? The League of Nations made a brave effort to achieve some degree of united action by the various member states, and failed. This is not the place to conduct a post-mortem, but it may be said that one of the major reasons for failure

was the conflicting values of the chief participating states. Now Federal Union is "in the air." The original suggestion that it should include a number of states has been followed by one of federation between the British Commonwealth and the U.S.A. The prospect is an appealing one, but needs much investigation and consideration. Is a federation possible unless the units to be federated have similar economic and political systems? It would appear that the answer to this question is in the negative. The basic values of a community determine its institutions and its cultural pattern. A socialised and an authoritarian state could not federate; neither could a capitalist and a communistic one. It would seem, then, that at the present stage of world history, federation would result in more powerful units being formed which were based on rival ideologies, with inevitable conflict between them as the only result. Hitler has formed an authoritarian confederation; if England and America form a capitalist-democratic one and the U.S.S.R. becomes the centre of a communistic one, more terrible wars between larger units seems to be the only predictable outcome. Is there no other way of escape? Is there no path along which real progress can be made?

The only other possibility is a less spectacular one and one which calls for patient, thorough, scientific, sociological research. It assumes that the desire to prosecute this kind of research is not the prerogative of one race, although it admits that the possibility of prosecuting it is denied to the members of some communities. It holds that real bonds between communities cannot be developed on the basis of either a lust for power or the existence of threats. They can be effective only when common interests result in a common effort to produce those conditions in which these interests can best develop. This means that each community has an essential task before it which only it can perform. Its own cultural pattern must be critically examined. No vested

interests and no prejudices must be allowed to interfere with this task. The ground must be "cleared of the weed, prepared for growth." The present development of mankind makes it necessary that there should be conscious control of cultural developments. This in turn means a conscious determination of the values of the community and concerted effort to achieve them. This is the whole case for planning. It is why planning is so urgently necessary. The old process whereby there was a long lag between inventions and the effecting of the social changes made imperative by these inventions is no longer possible if we are to survive. Perhaps this is one way of answering the challenge of the present age? Can we plan boldly and with imagination, as a community conscious of its opportunities and possibilities? Can we plan democratically, each for all, and all for each? Or are we willing to remain something less than adults and no longer attractive like children, and demand that someone else should plan for us, think for us, act for us, create for us? The answer is our answer to the challenge and upon it will depend our fate.

This, then, is the immediate task. As we examine our values and control our cultural developments, so will other communities do the same. Not all at once, and not all to the same degree, but the common field between communities will widen as discoveries are utilised for the happiness of all more than for the profit of a few. And as this common ground extends—and it is our duty to endeavour to extend it by every means in our power—the possibility of all-embracing federations becomes greater. There are, after all, two kinds of patriotism. The first says, "My country, right or wrong." The other, which is a higher type, says, "My country—and may I assist my country to give of its best to the common good."

The application to education should be obvious. Education is an institution through which a community endeavours to implant its values in the rising generation.

A "just and generous education" can only emerge from a "just and generous society." As we "clear the weed" from the soil in which the children are to grow so shall we make possible that growth which *is possible*, but so rarely achieved.

PART II

ENGLISH EDUCATION TO-DAY

Chapter I

INTRODUCTORY

IN Part I it has been pointed out that there is no such thing as *the* English tradition in Education. It is obvious from this that there cannot be anything which is properly describable as the English system of Education. What exists in England at the moment is a number of distinct systems, each of which is the result of some social and political development. The lamentable thing is that the existence of these systems does not in reality indicate that there is a rich diversity of educational effort in England, as some would like to maintain, but only that our educational provision is still based upon a system of social castes.

To understand fully English education as it exists to-day would involve tracing the social and political changes referred to above and determining their effects upon that complex of traditions, habits, customs and modes of thought which constitute our culture. This is a task which remains to be accomplished; when it has been carried out it will provide a history of education which will enable an intelligent view to be taken of the elements in the field of education, instead of one based upon prejudice and personal desires. Although the full story remains to be written, some of the main facts are known. These throw a curious light upon some of the present-day discussions and indicate how often an institution, curriculum or method lingers as a cultural "fossil" long after its true function has ceased to be necessary to the society in which it is retained. The great turning-points in man's history—the work of Galileo, the geographical discoveries of the Elizabethan age, the invention of the printing press and the steam engine, and the statement of

the theory of evolution, have all resulted in political and social changes. All in their turn had an impact upon education and rendered changes essential. Far too frequently what happened was that the old-established institution, through those who had some vested interest in it, fought with the supporters of the necessary new institution, instead of attempting to determine what was relevant in the new situation. In some cases an entirely new system was developed side by side with the existing ones. Even then the prestige value of the older established order was envied by the newer and less socially important one, with the result that the newer came in many ways to imitate the older and thus fought for a pale reflection of the existing institution instead of bravely setting out on the path demanded by the new circumstances. The old institution had social value; the education it gave brought economic rewards. It is impossible to blame those who availed themselves of the only means by which their ambitions could be satisfied. But the process has resulted in a deadening narrowness in our modern conception of secondary education, and a divorcing of action from thought, the result of which is now being reaped by the community. There is a diversity of types of school within the English educational system, but there is no diversity of education. The shadow has been mistaken for the substance, as will be shown in the course of this section. The process has to be reversed. There have to be determined methods whereby there can be real diversity of educational provision to meet the needs of the variety of abilities in individuals and the diverse needs of the community. Education has to be relevant to these two needs, and only in so far as it is relevant will it be satisfactory. Organisation, curricula and methods have all to be subjected to this acid test.

A detailed setting down of the education, both formal and informal, considered necessary for a representative successful man throughout the different ages would furnish an interesting and illuminating section of the history

of education. Successive chapters might well deal with such individuals as the Crusader-Baron; the Churchman-Politician; the Elizabethan Adventurer; the Merchant Prince; the Eighteenth-Century Intellectual, and the successful modern "Business" man. From such a study there would be gained a knowledge of what the successful people of each age considered necessary. As a parallel the type of education, if any, considered necessary for "the rest" might be investigated. Both would reveal the need for integration, if the reality of a democratic society is to emerge. In a modern industrial democratic community the development of a common culture which transcends the old opposition between the cultural and the vocational is essential. Without it there can be no fusion of the elements in a community; no field for total inner communal effort. A semblance of fusion can be imposed by the operation of force either from without or by a class within. But this process denies freedom and is opposed to the principles upon which democracy can alone be based. The fusion of the citizens of a democracy into a community, and the integration of the individual within himself and his integration into the community, can only come from within, from the efforts of the community itself or the individual himself, if it is to be able to withstand assault from without and the challenge to show the ability to live together for a common purpose which is being presented to the world of to-day.

It is therefore necessary to describe briefly the English systems of education as they exist to-day in order that some idea may be obtained of the nature of the reorganisation which is necessary. The urgency of this reorganisation should be apparent to all. Unless it is effected in the communal life and in the education provided by the community, it will be impossible to prevent a recurrence of crises similar to the present one with the inevitable result that our civilisation will follow those others which have failed to answer the challenge confronting them. It is a difficult task to undertake during the days of crisis;

but it is one which cannot be delayed. When the actual immediate physical danger ceases, there will be a temptation to think that the crisis has passed. The tension will be relieved, the lights will go up and in retrospect the pleasures of the pre-war days will seem to be the things we long for most. But it will be then, at that moment, that the real testing time will come. It is not enough to destroy the evil thing, to root out the places where it lurks and to exterminate its prophets. If one devil is expelled and the communal body left empty, many other devils will appear ready to possess it. The good thing must be built and built soundly and with speed. If it is to take blood and sweat and toil to eliminate the evil, there will be call for mental and spiritual blood, sweat and toil to establish the good. So the preparations must be made now. The armaments must be manufactured and the army trained. Among the chief weapons in our armament are a knowledge of the facts, and the courage to recognise them as such. The army of democracy must be trained in their use. Then there must be faith in the cause for which the fight is waged and a determination to prosecute it to a successful conclusion. Hence the plans must be developed, not rigidly as a testament, or as a code of laws, but fluidly and dynamically, and capable of adjustment in the light of social changes and widening knowledge. This is the only spirit which can inform those who work for the establishment of the democratic order and for that education which will at one and the same time hasten its achievement and support its existence.

Chapter II

THE PRE-HADOW SYSTEM

THE English Board of Education has established a Consultative Committee to which it periodically refers certain problems for investigations and report. In May 1924 the following terms of reference were put before this Committee:

- (a) To consider and report upon the organisation, objective and curriculum of courses of study suitable for children who will remain in full-time attendance at schools, other than secondary schools, up to the age of fifteen, regard being had on the one hand to the requirements of a good general education and the desirability of providing a reasonable variety of curriculum, so far as is practicable, for children of varying tastes and abilities, and on the other to the probable occupations of the pupils in commerce, industry and agriculture.
- (b) Incidentally thereto, to advise as to the arrangements which should be made (a) for testing the attainments of the pupils at the end of their course; (b) for facilitating in suitable cases the transfer of individual pupils to Secondary Schools at an age above the normal age of admission.

The Report of the Committee was published in 1926 under the title "The Education of the Adolescent," and it is this Report that is commonly known as the Hadow Report, from the fact that Sir W. H. Hadow was Chairman of the Consultative Committee at this time. This first Report was followed in due course by two others—one upon the Primary School and one upon Nursery and Infants' Schools. The three Reports together lay down the principles of what is generally termed "Hadow Reorganisation." In view of the fact that these Reports may be taken as marking the beginning of a systematic

attempt to develop the educational system on more sound lines, the date of their publication forms a suitable point from which to take a backward and a forward view.

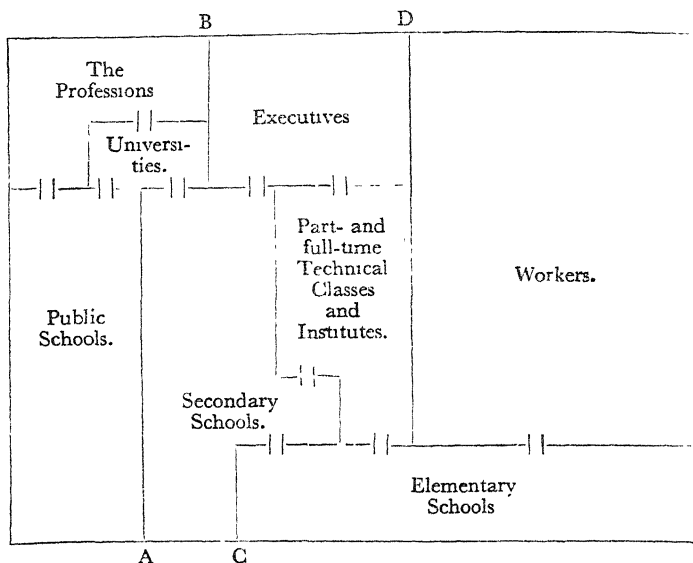
The backward view gives a picture of what may be termed "Pre-Hadow" education in this country. It must be remembered, however, that the newer movements did not start with the Hadow Reports. There had been much troubling of the waters before that date and many experiments had been carried out and some progress made. Nor must it be assumed that the forward view will disclose all the principles on which the Hadow reorganisation was based in operation. In fact, many of the most vital steps have still to be taken and the fact that they have not yet been taken shows the hold that old institutions have, even when the circumstances under which they originated have passed away. One picture will show the old systems in operation with some features of a new one developing, and the other will reveal the new systems with many features of the old ones retaining their hold.

The first and most striking point of interest about the old systems is that there were four of them. Three of these were divided by vertical divisions, while the fourth lay uneasily in a position of unstable equilibrium over the top of two of the first three. These systems are represented diagrammatically in the following figure.

Public Schools and Private Schools.	Technical Education (for some).	
	Secondary Schools	Elementary Schools.

It must be remembered that if this diagram were drawn to scale to represent the number of pupils or students contained within each system, that portion representing the Elementary School system would be many times

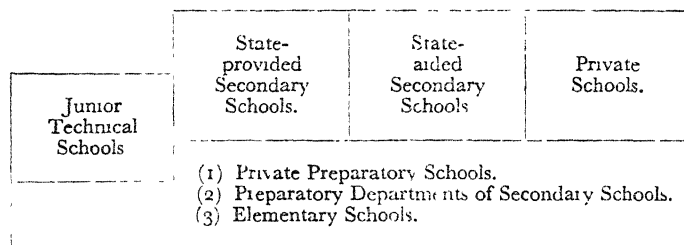
greater than all the rest put together. If to the diagram there were added portions representative of Universities and employment it would appear as follows :



Again, the diagram is not drawn to scale, but it will serve to indicate the main facts. The vertical divisions lie along AB and CD, and the close connection between the system of education and subsequent employment is obvious. Most of the Elementary School population (and this means most of the total child population) receive no education other than that provided by the Elementary School. A small proportion passes on to the Secondary system by a sideways step at the age of 11 plus. Another small proportion receives some form of continued education in either Evening Classes or Technical Institutes. Most proceed direct to work and do not come under any direct educational influence once they leave school at the age of 14 plus. From the Secondary School

a proportion passes on to the Universities and another proportion to Technical Education. From the Public Schools entry is made to the Universities or directly into one or other of the professions. The vertical divisions are not only divisions between educational systems; they are at the same time divisions between social classes.

Within each of the vertical systems there are horizontal divisions. In the Public School system the chain is usually—Private Governesses or Tutors, Preparatory Schools, Public Schools. In the Secondary School system there is far more complexity. The main types may be represented in the following diagram :



The whole of the cost of the State-provided schools (less any fees received) is covered by the rates and taxes. State-aided schools are those which have some funds of their own (usually an endowment), but not sufficient to pay the whole of the cost. The Private Secondary Schools are possible because of the atmosphere of charity which still clings to State-provided education.

The Elementary School system was in Pre-Hadow days divided horizontally into Infants' Schools and "big" Schools. The first of these catered for children from 5 to about 8; the second for all ages between 8 and 14.

Prior to the publication of the Hadow Report there had been developments at both ends of the Elementary School system. At the lower end Nursery Schools (for children from 2 to 5) and Nursery Classes (for children from 3 to 5) attached to existing Infants' Schools were being

gradually started. And the need for further development at the upper end of the elementary system was leading to experiments in the direction of separate schools for the older scholars and by way of "Higher Tops." The great purpose served by the first Hadow Report—that on "The Education of the Adolescent"—was that it made more clear the objectives which should be aimed at in this process.

The institutions which provided for further education were many and varied, but lacked co-ordination and a planned objective. They ranged from full- or part-time courses in Technical Colleges, through Junior Technical Schools to Evening Institutes. This "system" of Technical education was only loosely connected with the rest of the educational effort of the community. At one end it followed the Secondary School in the case of a number of pupils; at the other end it provided further education for a small fraction of those leaving the Elementary Schools. It was uncertain of itself and uncertain of its place in the whole system. Viewed as "superior" to elementary education (not as a development from it) and as "inferior" to secondary education (not as a form of secondary education) it tended to be viewed as a thing apart from the rest of the educational activities of the community.

Beyond this more formal provision for education were a number of informal organisations such as the Scouts, the Guides, The Woodcraft Folk, Clubs, the Women's Institutes, Young Farmers' Clubs, Rambling and Cycling Clubs, Dramatic and Choral societies, and organisations connected with adult education, such as the W.E.A., the Miners' Welfare organisation, Adult Schools, etc. Here there was little co-ordination of effort. In some cases there was overlapping and competition between organisations; in other directions whole fields were left unexplored. More recently there has been a tendency to set up co-ordinating machinery such as the National Council of Social Service and, still more recently, the Youth Organisation.

The following figures for 1895 give a picture of the English systems of education as they existed in Pre-Hadow days. It is difficult to get reliable and comparable figures because of the existence of private schools, and because of the differing age ranges of the various types of school. The following will, however, serve to indicate the main facts of the distribution of educational effort.

1895

TABLE I—ALL CHILDREN UP TO 18 YEARS OF AGE

(1) Total number of children and young persons	11,673,000
(2) Half-timers	127,000
(3) In Elementary Schools (between 3 and 14)	5,418,000
(4) In Endowed Grammar Schools and non-profit-making schools (5-18)	110,000
(5) In Higher Grade Schools (9-16)	35,000
(6) In Evening Classes	206,500

TABLE II—CHILDREN FROM 5-14

(1) Total number of children	6,160,600
(2) Half-timers	127,000
(3) In Elementary Schools	5,400,000
(4) In Grammar Schools	35,300
(5) In Higher Grade Schools	32,600
(6) In Evening Classes	80,600
Total (2)-(6)	5,675,500
Therefore, in Public and Private Schools	485,100

TABLE III—YOUNG PERSONS FROM 14-18

(1) Total number	2,800,000
(2) At work or unemployed	2,600,000
(3) In Evening Classes	125,900
(4) In Endowed Grammar Schools	49,000
(5) In Public and Private Schools	151,000

The impression gained from this rapid survey of the whole field is that of the need for co-ordination of purpose. The four formal systems of education may be taken as representing between them the first three of the four traditions suggested by Professor F. Clarke. For this purpose the secondary and technical systems can be considered as one, and together representative of the "dis-senting" tradition. The informal provision for education includes remnants of that Folk Tradition the loss of which

has aggravated the lack of cohesion in society. How far did the Hadow Reports go in their task of attempting a fusion of these systems and to what extent have they been successful? Before attempting to supply an answer to this question it is desirable that some account should be given of an Act which had for its object a similar task—the “Fisher Act” of 1918. This will serve to indicate how efforts were being made to develop the Elementary School system so that it might become the instrument of the spread of a common culture instead of one of charitable usefulness to the lower classes. It will indicate also how true it is that the difference which existed between the various forms of “secondary” education was one of “status” and not one of educational necessity.

Chapter III

FISHER AND HADOW

(i) *The Fisher Act of 1918*

War arises from a challenge—either in the economic sphere, in the sphere of “national” interests, or in the realm of ideas and values. Often it is a combination of such factors that gives rise to war, and recent events would suggest that this is increasingly the case. The more totalitarian a war becomes, the more are the aspects of communal life brought within its influence and affected by its challenge.

It is therefore inevitable that wars should be times of self-examination. From one point of view this examination is conducted in order that the immediate response to the challenge may be strengthened. From others the investigations are focussed upon the question of the failures of the past—why, with all their vaunted intelligence and moral development, have the societies of mankind no alternative but a resort to the use of physical power; why, such investigators would ask, has man’s inventiveness outstripped his power of controlling his inventions? In such an analysis it is hoped to find the changes which are essential if a repetition of the present conflict is to be prevented. A third group looks more to the future, asking what kind of society must be established and what forms its educational provision will take, if it is not only to avoid the errors of the past, or safeguard the present, but is to move forward to a state in which the constructive use of man’s achievements in the gaining, maintaining and developing of the progressively good society shall be the effective response to the challenge of the day. Periods of crisis have always made men feel the urge to rebuild their institutions and their way of life. Sometimes this has shown itself in symbolic form in the planning of some Utopia, or the building of some “city of God.” Oft-times the vision has dimmed and the will become less deter-

mined as the crisis has passed. The heightened emotional tension of the crisis has made much seem possible. A release of the tension has resulted in apathy and frustration.

It has been noted that during the latter decades of the nineteenth century there was increasing dissatisfaction with the content of the Elementary School curriculum and that experiments aimed at finding a content appropriate to the function of these schools as vehicles of the development of a common culture were made. These experiments met with much opposition, and the existing body of educational law, framed under the impetus of social motives no longer valid, prevented the movement from proceeding as far, or from being as wide, as the pioneers would have wished. The war of 1914-18 inevitably raised questions as to the physique and calibre of the youth of the nation and so focussed a searchlight on factors which had been present before but which had been ignored by many. The gravest defect of the educational system of 1914 was the totally inadequate educational provision for the majority of adolescents. In fact, it would be true to say that there was no such provision for the majority of those who left the Elementary Schools at the age of 14. The result was twofold. A great deal of the expenditure upon the provision of education up to that age was ineffective. It resulted in persons trained in the fundamental techniques but uneducated in their use. In addition, the effort and cost expended in technical and further education failed to produce an adequate result because of the unprepared state of the students concerned. All those who had given serious thought to the problems involved were agreed that some steps had to be taken with regard to educational provision for young people between 14 and 18 years of age. The discussion ranged round the form which this provision should take.

Mr. H. A. L. Fisher introduced an Education Bill into the House of Commons in 1917. This Bill was a com-

prehensive measure designed to deal with administrative and financial problems as well as more strictly educational ones. In introducing the Bill, Mr. Fisher said that it was "prompted by deficiencies which had been revealed by the war" and was intended to "repair the intellectual and physical wastage" caused by it. Its object was "to produce . . . a national system of education available for all persons capable of profiting thereby." There is no need here to describe all the details of the Act in its final form. Our concern is with those sections which indicated any movement towards a wider conception of education than that of mere literacy and any motive more adequate than that of cold charity.

The Act abolished fees in Elementary Schools and enabled Local Education Authorities to provide or to aid the supply of Nursery Schools for children from 2 to 5. Half-time attendance at school was abolished and no pupils were eligible to leave until the end of the term in which they became 14. Local Authorities could raise this age by bye-law to 15 and pupils could be retained in voluntary attendance up to 16 provided suitable courses of instruction were provided.

The Act, by proposing to set up Day Continuation Schools, endeavoured to make an entirely new departure in English education. It made attendance at such schools compulsory up to the age of 18, but for seven years following the "appointed day" upon which this part of the Act was to come into force, the upper age limit of compulsion was to be 16. Attendance was compulsory on all those who had ceased to be in full-time attendance at school before the age of 16 or who had not matriculated or passed some equivalent examination. The hours of attendance were to be 320 per annum, although for the first seven years Local Authorities could reduce these to 280. Attendance must be between the hours of 8 a.m. and 7 p.m. and employers had to make such arrangements as would enable young people to arrive at the school in such a state that they would be able to profit by the

instruction given. Attendance at schools provided by the employer was allowed to count, although the young person could attend elsewhere if he or she so wished. The schools provided by the employer were to be open to inspection by the Local Authority.

This part of the Act was never brought into full operation. Rugby is the only Education Authority which is working the scheme compulsorily, although some enlightened employers provide such schools for their own employees, or send them to schools provided by the Local Authority. In *The Needs of Youth* Dr. Morgan says, "There were, in 1938, thirty-three Day Continuation Schools attended by 16,646 juveniles between 14 and 18, in addition to seven provided by firms, and attended by 2,565 boys and girls. To these should be added 1,340 students attending Day Continuation Classes in four colleges for further education. This gives a total of approximately 25,550 pupils."

At the present time there is a tendency to argue back to the Fisher Act and to suggest that the solutions it propounded would meet the needs of to-day. There is a subtle suggestion that Mr. Fisher was a prophet ahead of his day and that now the implementing of the Day Continuation School clauses of the 1918 Act would solve the present-day problem of devising means for producing a cultured democracy.

At the commencement of the present war in 1939 an Act to raise the school leaving age to 15 (with exemptions under certain conditions) was about to come into force. The operation of this Act was postponed on account of the war. There are, therefore, two Acts now awaiting implementation—one which would set up Day Continuation Schools for all employed young people from 14 to 18, and the other which would raise the school leaving age to 15 (with exemptions). It is significant to note that if the young worker ceases to be employed he would also cease to be subject to compulsory attendance at the Day Continuation School, but that if he leaves school

under the second Act to be employed he has to return to school if his employment ceases. In the first case it is a matter of work *and* education, or neither; in the second of work *or* education, not both. This indicates, surely, some confusion of thought.

There are many who would advocate a "return to the Fisher Act" when the present conflict ceases. There are many who would see in such a step something preferable to the raising of the school leaving age to 15 or 16. It is therefore necessary to point out the need for a wider conception of the educational demands of the age than this. The basic idea of the Fisher Continuation School can be used, but in a method appropriate to this wider conception. The nature of the content of this education, both the full-time and part-time sections of it, needs careful consideration. The whole question is that of the process whereby the youth of a community is gradually integrated into it, while retaining its power of revitalising the community and so keeping it dynamic instead of allowing it to become static.

(ii) *The Hadow Reports*

In Chapter II some preliminary account has been given of the Report of the original 1926 Hadow Committee. It is unfortunate that its place in the sequence of Reports issued by the Consultative Committee suggests that Hadow reorganisation is concerned only with the provision of Modern Senior Schools. One result has been a neglect of the Junior Schools and a general acceptance of lower standard of equipment and provision for such schools.

In November 1928 further terms of reference were placed by the Board before the Committee. These were :

To inquire and report as to the courses of study suitable for children (other than children in Infants Departments) up to the age of eleven in Elementary Schools, with special reference to the needs of children in rural areas.

The Committee reported in 1931 and this Report was published under the title of "The Primary School." The third inquiry was based upon the following terms of reference:

To consider and report on the training and teaching of children attending Nursery Schools and Infants' Departments of Public Elementary Schools, and the further development of such educational provision for children up to the age of seven plus.

The Committee presented a Report in July 1933 under the title of "Infant and Nursery Schools."

It will be observed that between them these three Reports covered the whole of the Elementary School range. The terms of reference themselves indicated a changed conception of the Elementary system of education in this country. Hitherto, there had been Infant Schools for children to about 7 plus and then all-age schools for the rest of school life from 7 plus to 14. Now the results of experiments, and the demand for a real education for those to whom political power had been given, had resulted in a demand that the higher ranges of the Elementary Schools should be more effectively organised. The terms of reference clearly visualise three horizontal strata in the Elementary system:

- (1) Infant and Nursery Schools up to the age of 7 plus.
- (2) Primary Schools from 7 plus to 11 plus.
- (3) Senior Schools from 11 plus to 14 plus.

So far so good. What steps did these Reports suggest should be taken to integrate the various systems which existed in the country?

The *order* of the investigations and the reports should be noted, for this is significant. The report on "The Education of the Adolescent" came first. This was dictated by the needs of the moment, but was perhaps unfortunate since it tended to cause concentration on one aspect of the whole problem to the neglect of the problem

as a whole. It had the effect of making the upper age limit of the new modern senior school the determining age for other forms of education. It is true that the Hadow Committee visualised a leaving age of 16 and assumed that one of 15 was immediately practicable. But 14 plus was the effective age, and if the new Modern Senior Schools were to have a three-year range it was imperative that children should be admitted to them at the age of 11 plus. This in turn fixed the upper age for Junior Schools, and so 7 plus became the lower age limit for such schools. This whole question of ages will be discussed in more detail in the concluding section of this volume.

One or two points of general interest with regard to the three Reports should be noted. It is clear from the terms of reference that there was, in the minds of those responsible for their drafting, an educational system divided horizontally into three parts:

- (1) Infant and Nursery Schools for children up to the age of 7 plus.
- (2) Junior Schools for children between the ages of 7 plus and 11 plus
- (3) Modern Senior Schools for children between the ages of 11 plus and 14 plus or 15 plus

The terms of reference placed before the original committee, and quoted above, contain the words "other than Secondary Schools." The full implication of these words should be carefully considered. They can mean only that the intention was to reorganise the "elementary" school system, but to leave the other two systems untouched. To search for the reasons for this would lead us too far afield. It is true that to fuse the two systems would have involved legislative action—but are desirable developments to be neglected on that account? Elementary and Secondary Schools have different "codes" and different standards of staffing, equipment and accommodation, different holidays and different economic rewards. Secondary Schools are controlled by Part II

Authorities and Elementary ones by Part III—but again, is this legacy from the past to shackle the satisfying of present-day needs? Behind all the reasons put forward lay the one which has so often held back movements which are necessary to the health and well-being of the community as a whole—the vested interests of a class of parents, of a class of teachers, and of a class of administrators. The terms of reference visualised the relationship of the various systems as under:

Public and Private Schools.	Technical Instruction (for some).		} Primary Schools
	Secondary Schools.	Modern Senior Schools.	
		Junior Schools.	
		Infant and Nursery Schools.	

That this was so is corroborated by statements in *The New Prospect in Education* published by the Board of Education in 1929, about sixteen months after the publication of the original Hadow Report. It is therein stated: "Its (i.e. the Hadow Report's) main thesis—the provision for every child over the age of 11 of a system of intermediate education in schools set apart for that purpose—was no new one." "Intermediate education" is an interesting term! It implies an education prior and subsequent to it. Yet for by far the greater proportion of the nation's children it was to be the terminus. It was intermediate it is true—between the Junior School and the factory or workshop. It was not intermediate education, but final education for most of those embraced by it.

It is clear, however, from the Report itself that the Consultative Committee had some conception of the need for more drastic reorganisation. Recommendation No. 3 reads: "Primary education should be regarded as ending at about the age of 11 plus. A second stage should then

begin, and this stage, which for many pupils would end at 16 plus, for some at 18 or 19, but for the majority at 14 plus or 15 plus should, as far as possible, be regarded as a single whole, within which there will be a variety of types of education, but which will generally be controlled by the common aim of providing for the needs of children who are entering and passing through the stage of adolescence." This point is again emphasised in Recommendation No. 8: "It is desirable that education up to the age of 11 plus should be known by the general name of Primary Education, and education after that age by the general name of Secondary Education." Further, existing Secondary Schools are always referred to as "Secondary," the significance of the commas being obvious. The Committee suggested also a new nomenclature for the old and new Secondary Schools. The old existing Secondary Schools which "pursue in the main a predominantly literary or scientific curriculum" were to be known as Grammar Schools, while the new Secondary Schools which the Report visualised "with a 'realistic' or practical trend" were to be known as Modern Schools. Nor had the Committee lost sight of the legislative difficulties, for in Recommendation No. 31 they suggested three alternative methods by which the distinction between Part II and Part III Authorities might be abolished. There appears to be no doubt then that the *Committee* visualised the fusion of the Secondary and Elementary School systems and held the view that instead of the old vertical division there should be a horizontal one dividing the new combined system into two parts—Primary education up to the age of 11 plus and Secondary education after 11 plus. This implies common standards of qualifications for teachers, of staffing, of equipment and of general amenities. It was perhaps this conception which raised such extravagant hopes. The extent to which these hopes have been fulfilled or frustrated will be discussed later.

One other recommendation should be noted. No. 6

states: "A humane or liberal education is not one given through books alone, but one which brings children into contact with the larger interests of mankind. It should be the aim of schools belonging to the last three types (i.e. the *new* Secondary Schools and *not* the old ones) to provide such an education by means of a curriculum containing wide opportunities for practical work, and closely related to living interests." The first sentence is a statement with which no one could possibly quarrel. But *why* should the old Secondary Schools be excluded? Surely the pupils of the old Secondary Schools need the same human and liberal education, or was it thought that they were already receiving it? Or was the existing cleavage between the two systems too deep for the committee to bridge? Were the social divisions upon which it was based so deeply rooted in their minds that they were unable to think beyond them?

There is one finding of the second Hadow Report—that on the Primary School—which is of paramount importance. After pointing out that primary education falls into two well-marked stages—one extending up to the age of 7 plus and the other between that age and 11 plus—and stating that wherever possible there should be separate schools for the younger children, the Committee states, "We are of the opinion that the curriculum of the primary school is to be thought of in terms of activity and experience, rather than of knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored." Another recommendation of importance is one which expresses the view that "the main care must be to supply the pupils with what is essential to their healthy growth, physical, intellectual and moral, during this stage of their development." The first of these recommendations, thoroughly carried out, *would* revolutionise the education given in the Primary Schools, and the results of an education based upon it would probably startle even its authors. It is open to doubt whether the sponsors of this recommendation ever visualised the same children using their experience in later life as a basis of

their activity. Or perhaps they considered that there was no harm in children being creative since there would be no opportunity for any continuance of this attitude once the "serious business" of life had commenced. Further, there was to be a general examination at about the age of 11, to decide to which type of education the child was to proceed. And an examination at this age cannot test creative activity. It can only test "knowledge to be acquired and facts to be stored." And thus the examination is the thing, and the only activity that matters is the competitive one. The examination may lead to economic security; little wonder that it becomes all-important.

In the Report on Infant and Nursery Schools the Committee reaffirmed its belief that there should be separate schools for children under 7 years of age. Upon the question of Nursery Schools the Committee seemed to be divided. They said, "We are of the opinion that the Nursery School is a desirable adjunct to the national system of education; and that in districts where the housing and general economic conditions are seriously below the average, a Nursery School should, if possible, be provided. The Nursery School should be designed primarily for those children who by reason of unsuitable environment require careful attention to their physical welfare, and need to spend longer hours at school and to be provided with meals." Later the Committee states, "There are areas in which Nursery Classes within Infants' Schools or Departments will satisfy the existing need. Where children below the age of five are admitted to Infants' Schools or Departments, Nursery Classes should eventually be the normal type of provision."

The first of these recommendations seems to imply that Nursery Schools are essentially ameliorative provision for poor economic and social conditions and not a necessary part of an educational system. This is unfortunate. The Elementary School system in this country began as a system for the "education of the deserving poor" and

such it has remained ever since. There seems to be every argument in favour of a school catering for *all* children from 2 to 7—organised on the lines of the best Nursery Schools. All that is demanded for the children attending Nursery Schools is necessary for *all* children and 7 is quite young enough for any formal instruction to begin. In fact, no one has ever inquired yet into the age at which certain techniques can best be acquired. It is highly likely that we commence to teach certain things at much too young an age and that the same things could be acquired much more easily and with less expenditure of energy on the part of both teacher and taught if the most appropriate age for teaching them was known. Tradition still controls most of our education work. The social education given by a good Nursery School is probably needed just as much by the pampered only child of middle-class and professional people as it is by the child brought up in contact with others in a more congested environment. Further, if Nursery Schools are to be provided in order that bad housing conditions may continue to exist, some would prefer the housing conditions to be altered. A remedy is better than an expedient.

Other findings of this Committee stressed the importance of a good environment. "The fundamental purpose of the Nursery School or Class is . . . to provide an environment in which the health of the young child—physical, mental and moral—can be safeguarded." "Freedom is essential for the child and only becomes dangerous when there is nothing to absorb the child's restless activity and provide an outlet for his experimental spirit." "The training of the Nursery stage must be a natural training, not an artificial one."

These findings *are* the foundations of any efficient Nursery School system. But they require a far better provision of facilities than is to be found at present before they can be put into operation. At present they remain just ideals—unfulfilled because our present economic and

political theory says that guns are necessities and Nursery Schools luxuries.

Throughout these reports one gets glimpses of the conception of a system which would fuse the Elementary and Secondary School systems, although it would leave untouched the Private and Public Schools. It may be represented as below.

Public and Private Schools	Technical education (for some)	} Primary Schools.
	Various types of Secondary Schools.	
	Junior Schools.	
	Infant and Nursery Schools	

Technical instruction was not dealt with in any thorough way, but was the subject of a subsequent investigation. It is now necessary to discuss the successes and failures of this effort at fusing and reorganising the educational systems of the country.

But before doing so some figures may be given comparable with those given on page 47, but for the year 1935. They indicate the changes which took place in the 40 years from 1895-1935. The figures given are very approximate and merely indicate trends.

1935

TABLE I—ALL CHILDREN UP TO 18 YEARS OF AGE

(1) Total number of children and young persons	10,590,000
(2) In Elementary Schools (3-14)	5,628,000
(3) In Recognised Secondary Schools	443,000
(4) In full-time Art and Technical Schools	42,000
(5) In part-time Art and Technical Schools	1,200,000

TABLE II—CHILDREN FROM 5 TO 14 PLUS

(1) Total number of children	6,435,000
(2) In Elementary Schools	3,425,000
(3) In Secondary Schools	317,500
(4) In full-time Art and Technical Schools	15,000
(5) In Public and Private Schools	677,400

TABLE III—YOUNG PERSONS FROM 14 TO 18

(1) Total number	2,500,000
(2) At work or unemployed	2,000,000
(3) In Secondary Schools	125,400
(4) In full-time Art and Technical Schools	15,000
(5) Others (Public and Private Schools, etc)	359,600

(iii) *Success and Failure*

Many Authorities have opened a large number of fine new Modern Senior Schools. The Board of Education published an annual return (before the war) which expressed in numbers the progress of reorganisation, this being measured by the number of schools working under the new age classification, i.e. divided into Primary and Post-Primary instead of remaining all-age schools. The sunny promise of a longer age range for education for all children only brought forth a Bill which raised the age to 15 plus, but which granted exemptions for beneficial employment. This Bill became an Act, but its operation was postponed at the beginning of the present war. "Hadow reorganisation" has been interpreted in a variety of ways. In its name some excellent schools have been built, but also in its name existing divisions have been retained. It should be clear that neither the erection of buildings, nor the reclassification of children, nor the development of "practical" activities, nor a raising of the school age by that fraction of a year in which children cannot obtain "beneficial" employment, has anything to do with educational reorganisation. This can only spring from and be caused by *social* reorganisation. Perhaps it has taken the present war to drive home that lesson. It is to be hoped that it has been driven home, for it is the rock upon which our hopes of the future can be built. Hadowism has had its successes. It gave an impetus to school building and it resulted in the planning of schools for older children which made provision for many and varied activities. Science, art, and craft rooms of various types became a feature of such schools. Gymnasias were added and more and more space for

games seemed to be necessary. A lot of experience has been gained which will be of value when the real advance is made. The separation of the Junior School from the Senior has led to some attention being paid to the nature and needs of the Junior School child; Nursery classes are developing. There are now many "completely reorganised" areas. This bright side of Hadow reorganisation can be dwelt upon until the view is distorted and only this aspect is seen. It is fatally easy to measure our successes in terms of some material factor which can be assessed, expressed numerically, recorded and compared with other similarly obtained numbers. So there has been a tendency to measure the success of the Hadow reorganisation in terms of the number of new schools erected; another measure is that of the number of children in reorganised schools; another the number of areas reorganised, and so on. In the last fifty years or so men have tended to look upon their ability to construct, or to establish some record, to travel faster or higher than anyone else, as a sign of superiority. Only more recently has the suspicion appeared that the ability to construct may be, apart from the will to construct in fulfilment of a purpose, an evil thing. This implies determination of the purpose first. A community must determine its social purpose before it can state its educational policy and should do both before its architects and builders commence their operations.

Many of the hopes engendered by the Hadow Reports have faded. They failed to materialise because the social origins of the existing systems were not realised and consequently the hold and power of existing vested interests were not assessed. The Secondary School system remains apart from the Elementary School one. A few children sidestep from the latter to the former at 11 plus. A catastrophic examination decides their educational and economic fate once and for all. The much heralded system of secondary education which was to follow the primary stage has not materialised. The questions

of educational areas and their administration has not been tackled. The grant system (except for a temporary war change) remains unaltered. True, the curriculum has changed in some cases. There is more physical training and practical activities, but real reorganisation implies something which goes deeper than this change from these "three R's" to these "two P's." Because of the excessive attention paid to the upper ranges of the old all-age schools, the Junior Schools have had a raw deal compared with the Modern Senior Schools. Some new Junior School buildings have been erected, but there has often been a tendency to let them be housed in those "not good enough" for seniors. And the transfer examination at 11 plus, and the entry at 7 plus, have resulted in the Junior School course being viewed as having mainly one objective, success in this examination. So the course is a hurried, breathless one. There is no time in it to "stand and stare." A boy of 10 plus in a Junior School once wrote, "And thinking what my Father would say about my report, I forgot to look at the robin's nest in the garden." The report gave the boy's progress in view of the transfer examination; the "robin's nest" represented all the natural interests of a boy. The forgetting of them indicated the fact that the prison gates were closing about him. In one area a careful inquiry revealed the fact that out of a total age group of approximately 800 children, over 70 confessed to sleeplessness, headaches or sickness during the days preceding the examination. This area was not one where pressure was encouraged, nor were the admitted cases all that existed. The Hadow Reports did not make for equality of educational opportunity because the only true basis of this was never considered.

To repeat, the length of school life, the type of school building, the way in which the children are classified—none of these, nor all of them, can produce the educational system necessary to the welfare of a modern machine-based, democratic society. To think that they can is to

mistake for ends factors which can never be more than means. That mistake must not be made again. It must be recognised that the forces which maintain the present three systems in comparative isolation are social in their nature and represent vested interests. This will indicate the difficulty of the task of reorganisation and of the appropriate point of attack on the problem. A community must decide upon its values; then the purpose of its educational system becomes plain. Only then can the relevant steps be taken to devise the organisation and machinery by which this purpose can be achieved. In spite of the new schools and much else that is praiseworthy, the Hadow Reports failed to bring about the integration of educational effort which is the only answer the democracies can make to totalitarianism. The task is more urgent than ever to-day; not often does opportunity knock twice at the door of an individual or a community.

Chapter IV

THE SPENS REPORT

IN 1933 the Board of Education submitted to its Consultative Committee the following terms of reference:

To consider and report upon the organisation and inter-relation of schools, other than those administered under the Elementary Code, which provide education for pupils beyond the age of 11 plus, regard being had in particular to the framework and content of the education of pupils who do not remain at school beyond the age of about 16.

Two points should be noted. The terms of reference exclude the Modern Senior Schools established under the impetus given by the original Hadow Report. The Secondary Schools which prepare most of their pupils for the Universities and/or the professions are also excluded.

The Committee reported in 1938. Sir Henry Hadow, who had been Chairman when the investigation was commenced, had died during its progress, and had been replaced by Mr. (now Sir) Will Spens. The Report of the findings of the Committee is known as the Spens Report.

The feature of this Report is the recommendation that Technical High Schools should be established. The full recommendation runs as follows:

"We are convinced that it is of great importance to establish a new type of higher school of technical character quite distinct from the traditional academic Grammar School. As a first step to this end, we recommend that a number of existing Junior Technical Schools orientated towards the engineering and building industries and any other Technical Schools which may develop training of such a character as (a) to provide a good intellectual discipline altogether apart from its technical value, and (b) to have a technical value in

relation not to one particular occupation but to a group of occupations, should be converted into Technical High Schools, in the sense that they should be accorded in every respect equality of status with schools of the grammar school type. We recommend that such schools, which would recruit their pupils at the age of 11 plus and provide a five-year course up to the age of 16 plus, should be called Technical High Schools to distinguish them from full-time Technical Schools of other types which provide courses for pupils beginning at the age of 13 or 14.

"We recommend that pupils should be recruited for Technical High Schools at the age of 11 plus by means of the general selective examination by which pupils are at present recruited for the Grammar Schools.

"The curriculum for pupils between the ages of 11 plus and 13 plus in Technical High Schools should be broadly of the same character as the curriculum in other types of secondary school of equal status.

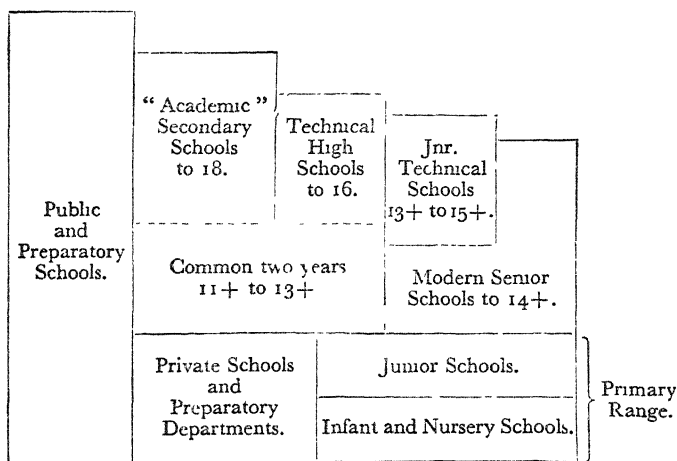
"For pupils above the age of 13 the curriculum should be designed so as to provide a liberal education with Science and its applications as the core and inspiration. The subject matter would be English, History, Geography, Mathematics, Science, Engineering Drawing, Practical Crafts in the workshops, Physical Education and the Æsthetic Subjects, together with continued study of a foreign language for those pupils who have shown that they are capable of profiting by it."

It should be noted that in this new type of school the first two years' work (11 plus to 13 plus) was to be identical with that of the academic Secondary Schools and that there was to be transfer between the two types of schools at 13 plus. One recommendation (No. 111) is especially interesting because it realistically admits that Secondary Schools of various types are *not* of equal status; this is an effective comment on the Hadow Committee's statement that all post 11 plus education was to be secondary.

The report visualised the retention of Junior Technical

and Commercial Schools. These would continue to recruit their pupils (mainly from the Modern Senior Schools) at the age of 13 plus and give them a two years' course.

The picture of technical and secondary education which is obtained by combining the suggestions of the Spens Report with those of the Hadow Reports may be represented diagrammatically as below.



The Spens Report was stillborn. It aroused much discussion when published, but a succession of pre-war crises followed by the actual outbreak of war prevented any attempt being made to establish the Technical High School which had been its main recommendation.

The catastrophic examination at 11 plus was to remain for the majority of children. Some few would obtain a further two years (11 plus to 13 plus) in which exploration of their potentialities could be made. For the rest (and by far the greater majority of the nation's children) there was to remain the tragedy that the general pattern of their lives should be determined by success or failure in per-

formance on one or, at the most, two days. The Junior Technical School would perhaps take a very small number. But its status was more akin to the Senior School than to the Secondary.

Once more the real problem had not been faced. Technical education was necessary and admittedly had been neglected. But before talking about equality of status between the new Technical High Schools and the existing academic Secondary Schools it is necessary to consider the factors which make for inequality of status and to examine the underlying social values. Further, so long as the possession of wealth makes it possible to purchase a brand of education irrespective of the ability of the child to be educated, so long as one kind of education is "superior" socially to another, and so long as this education is available to only a proportion of the greatest class in the community but open to all of another class, so long will competition and snobbery mar the educational efforts of the community. Two results follow. The potential powers and abilities of the community will never be fully employed. Human assets will be wasted and frustration and friction follow. And individuals will suffer through social values causing powers suitable for use in one direction to be prostituted to another direction. The whole system is wasteful of total effort and wasteful because of misapplied effort. The cure lies in the realm of social values.

Chapter V

ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE

THE administration of education in England is a joint matter for the Board of Education and the Local Education Authority. In general the Board lays down the broad policy, leaving a considerable degree of latitude to the Local Authorities as to what extent and in what matter they implement this policy. The "Board" is a name for the Central Authority, which has historical significance but no modern one. The President of the Board is a Cabinet Minister and is responsible to Parliament for his Department. He is assisted by a Parliamentary Under-Secretary and a Permanent Secretary, under whom works a large administrative and technical staff. In addition, the Board maintains an Inspectorate whose function becomes increasingly that of Liaison Officers between the Central and Local Authorities.

The Local Education Authorities are the County Councils, the Councils of Cities and County Boroughs, the Councils of non-County Boroughs and, in some cases, those of Urban Districts. Broadly speaking, these areas are fixed according to the units of local government existing in 1902. There are two types of Local Authority—commonly known as Part II and Part III Authorities. The former—the Counties, Cities and County Boroughs—are responsible for the administration of all forms of education. The latter—the non-County Boroughs and Urban Districts—are responsible for the control of elementary education. In some cases the Part III Authority may have some powers for Higher Education delegated to it by the Part II Authority in whose area it is situated (the County Authority). The powers more commonly delegated are those concerning Evening Classes and Institutes, the Youth Movement, and duties and powers under the Children and Young Persons Act of 1933. Most Local Education Authorities have a responsible officer, variously known as a Director

of Education, an Education Officer, or a Secretary, to take charge of their educational activities, and he has under him a staff which varies in size and duties according to the size of the area controlled. Some Local Authorities maintain an Inspectorate distinct from that of the Board.

Some figures which indicate the varying size of the Local Education Authorities may be of interest.

TABLE I—TYPES OF AREA

<i>Type of Area</i>	<i>No. of Children</i>	<i>Per Cent. of Total</i>
1 London	470,752	9.6
49 English Counties	1,740,295	35.5
13 Welsh Counties	210,698	4.3
79 English County Boroughs	1,617,205	33.0
4 Welsh County Boroughs	77,123	1.6
137 English Boroughs	615,034	12.5
6 Welsh Boroughs	21,716	0.4
20 English Urban Districts	93,140	1.9
7 Welsh Urban Districts	61,260	1.2
<u>316</u>	<u>4,907,152</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Thus the 146 Part II Authorities (Counties and County Boroughs) have 34 per cent. of the children, while the remaining 170 (53.8 per cent. of the total) have only 16 per cent.

The 8 largest Authorities (all in England) have 26 per cent. of the total number of children; and the 17 Authorities with over 50,000 children have in all 38 per cent., as shown in the following table:

TABLE II—AVERAGE ATTENDANCE IN LARGEST L.E.A. AREAS

<i>Largest L.E.A.s</i>	<i>Children in Average Attendance (1934-5)</i>
London	470,752
West Riding	170,576
Durham	118,139
Lancashire	109,915
Essex	91,855
Liverpool	124,576
Birmingham	124,531
Manchester	95,210

1,305,764—26.6 per cent.

*Largest L.E.A.s**Children in
Average Attendance (1934-5)*

Surrey	74,793
Kent	73,545
Derbyshire	65,455
Staffordshire	60,952
Middlesex	53,230
Cheshire	52,700
Glamorgan	58,157
Sheffield	61,953
Leeds	58,704

1,865,163—38 per cent.

At the other extreme are two counties (Scilly and the Soken of Peterborough) and 22 Boroughs with under 2,000.

TABLE III—GROUPING OF AREAS BY SIZE OF SCHOOL POPULATION

<i>Children in Average Attendance</i>	<i>Counties</i>		<i>County Boroughs</i>		<i>Boroughs</i>		<i>Urban Districts</i>	
	<i>Eng</i>	<i>Wales</i>	<i>Eng.</i>	<i>Wales</i>	<i>Eng.</i>	<i>Wales</i>	<i>Eng</i>	<i>Wales</i>
Under 5,000 ¹	3	1	2	—	93	4	15	—
5,000-10,000	5	6	23	—	35	2	4	6
10,000-20,000	11	4	32	2	9	—	1	—
20,000-30,000	6	—	9	1	—	—	—	1
30,000-40,000	10	—	4	1	—	—	—	—
40,000-50,000	4	1	4	—	—	—	—	—
50,000-100,000	7	1	3	—	—	—	—	—
Over 100,000	4	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
	50	13	79	4	137	6	20	7

¹ Includes one borough (Tiverton) and one county (Scilly) with under 100.

It should, of course, be pointed out that the grouping necessarily creates artificial distinctions; thus, 7 of the 23 small County Boroughs have over 9,000 children; and one of them (Tynemouth) would have been in the 10,000 class if the figures for 1932-3 had been taken. There are thus a few border-line cases.

Many suggestions have been made for reforming the areas of educational administration. It is clear that the present system, a legacy of the past and one set up without any consideration of the needs of education, requires a drastic overhauling before a truly national system of education can be effectively operated. The best known suggestion is that made in the Hadow Reports. This was to the effect that small Boroughs and Urban Districts should surrender their powers to the County Authority in whose area they were situated, while the large ones should themselves receive full powers over all forms of education. This raises the question of what constitutes a "small" Borough or Urban District. The general policy of the Ministry of Health is that the powers of a County Borough (which include power of control over all forms of education) should not now be given to a town of less than 70,000 inhabitants, although as a matter of fact such powers are so exercised by 21 County Boroughs which had a smaller population than this in 1931.

The table given below indicates the distribution by size of Boroughs and Urban Districts in England and Wales.

<i>Population (1931 census)</i>	<i>Boroughs</i>		<i>Urban Districts</i>	
	<i>L.E.A.s</i>	<i>Not L.E.A.s</i>	<i>L.E.A.s</i>	<i>Not L.E.A.s</i>
Under 10,000 .	1	99	—	?
10,000—20,000 .	34	15	—	?
20,000—30,000 .	28	15	9	27
30,000—50,000 .	53	12	15	8
50,000—70,000 .	15	3	1	1
70,000—100,000 .	4	1	1	1
Over 100,000 .	7	—	1	—
	142	145	36	?

The result of the application of the suggestions made in the Hadow Report would be that 14 Boroughs and 3 Urban Districts with populations ranging from 70,000 to 147,000 would be given full powers for education. On

the other hand, one County Borough, 57 Boroughs and 9 Urban Districts with populations below 30,000 would cease to be Local Education Authorities at all. The effect would be that the total number of Local Authorities for education would be reduced from 316 to 261. Certain cases would need further consideration. Amongst these would be three County Authorities which have populations of under 70,000, 20 County Boroughs with populations below this figure and 69 Boroughs and 19 Urban Districts with populations between 30,000 and 70,000. This proposal abolishes any Education Authority with a population below 30,000; it gives full powers where the population is above 70,000 and it leaves open for discussions the cases falling between the two limits stated.

Local prejudices, local pride and vested interests all conspire to make this question a very difficult one to approach logically. Yet it becomes increasingly clear that unless there is a reorganisation of areas of educational administration many desirable reforms will be impossible. The main objective must be to eliminate the Part III Authorities *as such*. This leaves two alternatives. Either

- (a) The Part III Authorities can be left with the administration of Primary education (i.e. that up to the age of 11-12 years, assuming that this age remains the termination of the Primary course, which is doubtful), or
- (b) They can be abolished and their powers transferred to the Part II Authorities in whose areas they are situated. It is this second alternative which the Hadow Committee suggested and the effects of which have been discussed above.

There is a third possibility, and it is one which should be thoroughly explored. The suggestions made so far have all commenced with the size and powers of existing Authorities. In the period of growth which the educational provision of this country has passed through, to

make use of existing Local Authorities for educational purposes seemed the natural and obvious thing to do. But these Authorities were originally set up for other purposes and the time has now come when the basic question should be asked, and search made for the correct answer. It is—what is the desirable size of the administrative unit for educational purposes? Many factors have to be considered and some of them are of a subtle nature. It is not in education alone that this consideration of administrative areas is becoming important. In transport, electricity supply, water, fire-fighting, and so on the same problem has been or is being put. There has been little research into this matter. The investigations which have been undertaken suggest that an area with a population of round about 100,000 people would have much to commend it. Such areas might be a town with its hinterland, or two or more small towns with the intervening country. The figure is not suggested as a rigid one, but merely as a basis of discussion. It would mean that the artificial boundaries of the Boroughs would be replaced by more natural ones.

The urgency and importance of this question is beyond all doubt. Upon its solution depends the possibility of developing a rational system of education. The chaos and confusion caused by the present situation is patent to all those who have contact with it. It cannot be illustrated more effectively than by the story of the *President of the Board* (who shall remain anonymous) who visited a large *County Borough* and at a youth rally described and eulogised the work of the *County Authority* in whose area the Borough was situated, apparently under the impression that the Borough was part of the County area. The disappointment and cynical amusement of the Borough Authorities can be imagined. It says much for their tact and forbearance that the President departed unaware of his mistake and that he is probably still unaware of it!

Connected with this question of areas is that of finance. In general, it may be said that the cost of Elementary and

“provided” Secondary education is approximately divided equally between the Board of Education and the Local Authorities. The formula by which the grant paid by the Central Authority is calculated is a complicated one and varies for expenditure on different services. Prior to the war it was 60 per cent. on teachers’ salaries, 50 per cent. on “Special” services (i.e. medical inspection, special schools, etc.) and 20 per cent. on loan charges. Occasionally the Board stimulates development, or directs it along a certain channel, by raising the rate of grant on some one branch of the service. After the issue of the Hadow Report on “The Education of the Adolescent” the rate of grant on school buildings built in accordance with a reorganisation programme was raised from 20 per cent. to 50 per cent. The various rates give, however, a grant of approximately 50 per cent. over the whole expenditure. For the present the rate has been stabilised at the percentage rate paid in 1936–37.

There are wide variations in the cost of education per child in different areas. The table given below shows the variations as between different types of area.

<i>Type of Area</i>	<i>Total Expenditure per child</i>	<i>Cost of Teachers' Salaries</i>	<i>Loan Charges</i>	<i>Admn. and Inspection</i>	<i>Special Services</i>	<i>Super-annuation</i>	<i>Other Services</i>
	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>
London . . .	380 11	222 3	20 1	19 0	49 1	11 6	59 0
Other Counties .	238 9	155 9	13 9	10 3	12 9	7 6	38 9
County Boroughs.	259 7	162 11	16 11	10 1	21 8	8 3	39 9
Boroughs and . . .							
Urban Districts	262 5	168 0	18 10	10 5	17 7	8 5	39 2
Average for all Areas . . .	263 5	166 7	16 3	11 1	20 1	8 3	41 2

The total expenditure per child varies from 156s. 7d. in Falmouth and 183s. 5d. in the Soke of Peterborough, to 305s. 7d. in Radnor and 380s. 11d. in London. The cost of teachers’ salaries per child ranges between the limits

of 110s. 1d. in Falmouth and 135s. 8d. in Ipswich to 210s. 6d. in Radnor and 22s. 3d. in London. Expenditure per child on loan charges runs between nil in Kendal and 3d. in the Soke of Peterborough to 27s. 1d. in Essex and 28s. in Surrey. The cost of special services shows similar wide variations, the extremes being 4.9d. in Port Talbot and in Coseley and 7-8s. in Gloucester to 19s. 8d. in Radnor and 49s. in London.

Much analysis would be needed to reveal the full significance of these figures, for they are an expression of the operation of many factors. The amount expended upon teachers' salaries depends upon the salary scale payable in the area and the liberality or otherwise of the Authority in matters of staffing. Loan charges may be indicative of the educational history of the area. If it is one with a considerable proportion of non-provided schools, the loan charges will be small. If the area carried out any considerable programme under the Hadow reorganisation the loan charges will be high. Again, areas differ in the need for social services, and also in the proportion of children in attendance at Elementary Schools.

The result of these factors is that although the Board and the Local Authority bear the cost of the education service in any given area in almost equal proportions, the Local Authority's share does not represent an equal burden on the ratepayers of different areas. In the year 1937 the rate levied *per head of population* for Elementary Education was 14s. in Huddersfield and 13s. 3d. in Hartlepool. But it was 32s. 6d. in Barking and 25s. 10d. in West Ham. The rate levied in the pound for Elementary Education varied in the same striking manner. It was 1s. 9½d. in Buxton, 2s. 10d. in Nottingham and 3s. 10¾d. in Barnsley.

These local variations in the cost of education are the outcome of retaining a system of areas and a method of finance which may have been satisfactory at the time and under the conditions of their origin, but which have now become fossils overlaid by the strata of new conditions.

To discuss a new method of assessing the relative shares of the cost of education to be borne by the central government and the Local Authorities respectively without first considering the area over which the revised grant system is to operate is to carry out a worthless task. The two questions are inseparably intermingled. But both must be solved before there can be progress towards a truly democratic national system of education. At present the burden tends to fall most heavily on the areas less capable of payment. A nation cannot afford to let the education of its children depend upon the fluctuations in local conditions. The educational service of a community is the concern of the whole community and must be financed accordingly.

Chapter VI

CURRICULA AND METHODS

It is in the curricula of schools that the influence of tradition and social movements can be most clearly seen. The hold which the old classical curriculum still exerts over secondary education bears witness to this, as does also the manner in which the defence of this curriculum has changed. As one defence after another has proved to be ineffective, some new rationalisation has been produced to take the place of the discredited ones. The struggle for a place in the curriculum for mathematics and science is a chapter in comparatively modern educational history. Even now, while the physical sciences may have gained a recognised place, under the influence of the needs of a machine age, the biological sciences are often viewed as either a "soft option" or as still subject to a suspicion of impropriety, or as inclined to be "tendencious." Again, for reasons which can only be found in the realm of false social values, there has always been a tendency for the Secondary to ape the Public School and the Elementary to ape the Secondary. This is only to be expected in a society in which the degree of economic reward has meant a rise in social status which has been accepted as the aim of life. The method by which a subject or a group of subjects has gradually gained a place in the curriculum is interesting. Usually it has been taught first by a part-time visiting teacher—as an "extra" by a teacher inferior in status to and less well paid than the whole-time teacher of other subjects. Then comes the stage of the whole-time teacher—now a member of the staff, but still uncertain of his position and looked upon as definitely inferior by the teacher of the established subjects. Only after many years is equality of status finally achieved.

It would constitute a most valuable piece of educational research if the subjects which are most commonly found in the curricula of (a) a Modern Senior School, (b) a

Secondary School, and (c) a Public School were taken and the conditions and social movements which led to their inclusion were traced. Such a research would lead to a much clearer view as to their retention or otherwise in existing curricula. When the conditions have changed, when other social movements have replaced the originating one, the question of the retention in the curriculum of the subject under consideration is an important one. Up to the present the legacy of the past, with an acquired nob value because it has been the mark of social status, has been the main determining factor in the curricula of most schools. Yet it is at least a matter of doubt whether a curriculum devised for the schools of our aristocratic, agricultural, home-craft England is the most suitable for a democratic, industrial, factory-run England in which speed of transport and communications have together forced close communal living on most people. The subjects of the curriculum of most schools correlate highly with the social status of the school. Some have thought mistakenly that to teach "Secondary School" subjects in an "Elementary School" would remove this factor of status, just as some have thought that the institution of the prefect system would achieve the same end. The evil lies far deeper than that—and it lies in the realm of social values.

One much needed research has been referred to above. Another is perhaps more psychological than sociological, for it concerns the stage in the development of children at which skills, techniques and subjects can best be learned. One thing is certain. We do not know the age at which, say, reading, or some arithmetical process, can be most economically and effectively learned. We assume that a traditional chronological age, fixed mainly by considerations quite apart from the nature of child growth, cannot be correct. We know that children vary in rate of growth and in the age at which certain powers mature. There is evidence to show that it is mental age rather than chronological age which should determine the

processes which the child should be using at any stage. Yet we continue to expect children to learn *this* at the age of six, *that* at seven, and we promote them largely in solid age blocks. Again, we speak of a "practical approach to the curriculum" for children of 11 plus in the new Senior Schools. Yet no thorough and complete research has yet been attempted as to how far the child of 11 can carry out the manipulation of tool and material now often demanded of him or her. The demand for a literate people required an emphasis upon the technique of teaching the three R's. It is often assumed that the three R's are basic to *all* education, i.e. that the specific demand of one specific period in our cultural development is a general demand of all ages. The demand of the present is for educated citizens capable of fulfilling all their functions in a machine-based democracy. It does not follow that the education which will satisfy this demand is the same as that which produced a literate people. In fact, it is a matter of considerable doubt whether the development of the cinema and the wireless (both aural and visual) are not going to alter the importance of reading in education. It is possible to picture future generations finding all the same reasons for teaching reading as the classicists find for teaching Latin to-day. The paper proprietors, at any rate, realise fully that the wireless is their serious competitor.

All this goes to show how far off we are from being able to formulate a curriculum relevant to the purpose of our education and integrated so as to produce its full effect. This question of integration is important. The introduction of additional subjects has rarely been accompanied by a consideration of their relation to the existing curriculum. They have been just "extra subjects"—and gradually the curriculum has become a collection of separate subjects, each competing for a place, and an important place, in the time-table; each demanding an increasing proportion of the available time but rarely or never integrated into one weapon

for the achievement of the educational objective of the community.

It is not usually admitted that the method of teaching, like the subject matter, depends upon sociological factors.

One thing appears to be certain. There is no one method which is appropriate to all children of all ages for all types of activity. If there were, the machine age could be neatly rounded off by the establishment of schools in which machine-like methods produced standardised results as regularly as factories produce standardised articles. Unfortunately there are those whose conception of the educational process does not rise above this. The question that has to be decided is what method is appropriate to each activity at any particular age. This is why an over-emphasis on one method may be so ineffective. It may have been found to work in one area, under one set of circumstances, for a given group of activities. It is a weakness of the human mind to tend to employ under new circumstances those methods which were successful under the old ones. So we started the war in 1914 with faith in the cavalry which won the Boer War, and the present war with the series of trenches and strong points which were the success of the 1914 war. No doubt we shall start another war with the tanks of this one. This process is not confined to warfare—it is true of all activities, including education. The Hadow reorganisation led to the division of many schools into A and B streams, or A, B and C streams. This “finer grading” was supposed to be one of the valuable results of this reorganisation. But why was this finer grading so emphasised? The honest answer is that it made a more homogeneous group and the more homogeneous the group the easier it is to handle it *as a group*. Yet this method was that of the early schools of literacy, but dressed up to resemble something new. We have yet to determine:

- (a) The best composition of a group for teaching purposes,

- (b) Whether the composition varies with the activities, e.g. the learning of skills and techniques and the carrying out of activities based on them,
- (c) The relation between individual and class work, and
- (d) The effect of age upon the method to be used.

The problem is that of making learning coincide with teaching. At present there would appear to be a great wastage of teaching power. The true test of the teacher's success is the extent to which his teaching has resulted in learning on the part of his pupils. He has to find the method whereby that spontaneity which is the life of the teaching process shall be blended with that order which is the essence of the acquisition of the skills and techniques. Once more the test is relevance—relevance to subject matter and the stage of development of the pupils. The method and the matter must then be so integrated that they cease to become two factors, but constitute a single potent weapon.

Chapter VII

BEYOND THE SCHOOL

THE last figures available before the present war indicated that of the 14-18 age group of boys and girls about half—that was about $1\frac{3}{4}$ millions—was unattached to any recreational or educational organisation. The problem is not confined to their group alone, for there are also the older adolescents from 18 to 20.

The figures speak for themselves. They indicate that in the group of young people from 14 to 20 there are approximately two millions who remain without the community in any real sense—unintegrated with it through any group activities. It was the recognition of the increasing danger to the community of such a state of affairs that led to the development of the Youth Movement in this country. The social conscience of the community was aroused by the same problem during the 1914-18 war. Then Juvenile Organisations Committees were established to co-ordinate youth activities, but the temporary passing of the crisis resulted in an ostrich-like attitude to the needs of Youth being adopted by many people. The present Youth Committees, appointed as a result of Circular 1486 (November 1939) and Circular 1516 (June 1940) are in some respects the heirs and successors of the old Juvenile Organisations Committees. The present movement shows some signs of being more capable of growth than did the earlier one. Its testing time will come when post-war problems confront it. Its task in wartime is far more simple. For it to be ultimately successful there will be needed a society determined to organise itself for the benefit of all its members, conceptions of education and of educative processes much wider than our present ones, and an integration of the Youth Movement into the whole wide educational provision of the community in such a way that through it the Youth of the community will become its dynamic.

Under the Circulars referred to above most Part II

Authorities have set up Youth Committees and have delegated the necessary powers to the Part III Authorities within their areas. It is perhaps natural, in view of the circumstances of the time, that the tendency has been for the activities of these committees to be directed largely towards physical training and forms of war service. These must have their place, but the dangers which lie in the direction of any undue emphasis upon them can be seen only too clearly in the examples of Germany and Japan.

The major difficulties of the moment concern the question of accommodation and staff on the one hand, and those which arise from a narrow conception of education on the other. Suitable premises for youth activities are hard to come by and the erection of suitably planned buildings to supply the need seems for the moment to be out of the question. Even those buildings which had been in pre-war days used for some form of youth activities have been commandeered for one purpose or another. Some few have been released, but the need for accommodation is acute.

Difficulties with regard to personnel arise in two directions. Most of the natural club leaders, both men and women, are serving in the Armed Forces. Although some of the men, particularly those capable of giving instruction in physical training, have been returned to their areas to assist in youth work, the shortage of leaders is acute, and in any case it is not only the physical training experts that are wanted. In many cases it is the club leader, in whom other qualities are imperative, who is most in demand. The second difficulty over personnel arises from the fact that the older youths are themselves proceeding on military service and this is reducing the average age of clubs and groups, leaving them without natural leaders, and so adding to the difficulties of the adult leaders. To this must be added the effect of the present conditions of employment on the young people's attitude to the community.

A narrow conception of education leads to the belief that all that is demanded by a youth is expressed in the formula "Form a class and provide a teacher." This means, in effect, that there is no imagination beyond that of the formal education of the formal school. As some boys were alleged to have remarked when the question of the school leaving age was being debated, "We don't want another dose of the same old stuff." The provision of classrooms, seats and teachers will never solve the problems of youth in a community.

Many experiments are being carried out and some approaches to the problem made which show signs of producing promising results. Amongst these may be noted:

(1) *The East Suffolk Service Squads*.—In the summer of 1940 the East Suffolk Education Committee (by means of posters and press advertisements) asked young people between the ages of 14 and 21, who were willing to serve their own community, to write to the Education Office. They were then given a list of possible jobs and the names of other young people with similar interests, and were invited to form their own groups, elect officers and send in a report after a month's experiment. Since then some 150 squads have been formed, varying in size from 3 to 50 members. About 70 per cent. of the members of the squads have never before belonged to any kind of organisation. Some 80 different kinds of work are being done, and an important feature is that the purpose of the squads is essentially practical and social. The young are not normally interested in training for its own sake, but are interested in doing a job. Here training is not the aim, but is incidental to service. On the other hand, doubt has been expressed as to whether the work of the squads will in fact be sufficiently searching in its demands on the members; that is to say, what will be their enduring value as a medium of serious training? The very variety of the work done means that, while some squads may undertake important work such as the organisation of evening

class programmes or a food-production scheme, others may exist for such a limited object as knitting socks.

Writing of these squads, a correspondent in *The Times Educational Supplement* for 7th December, 1940, said, "The squads have shown that youth can produce its own leaders from its own ranks . . . that, given an object, moral support and a moiety of cash, young people will create something real and of value out of the needs of their own place and time."

(2) *The Westmorland Youth Council*.—Westmorland is divided into 15 districts, each of which is to have a District Youth Council consisting of boys and girls between the ages of 14 and 21. These councils are to organise all communal activities for the district, including the planning of evening class programmes. Co-ordinating these 15 councils is a Westmorland Youth Council, consisting of the chairmen and secretaries of the district bodies. These councils of young people will have the advice and guidance of the County Youth Committee and District Advisory Committees, consisting of adult members. But the intention clearly is that the young people's councils should do as much of the work and bear as much of the responsibility as possible, and that the adult bodies should keep in the background.

(3) *The Hertfordshire Youth Federation*.—The Hertfordshire Youth Federation is to be a body of elected boy and girl representatives of juvenile organisations, with an Executive Committee of not more than 30 members. It is expected that local groups will grow out of the Federation. The function of the Federation and its Executive Committee is to discuss plans and policy and co-ordinate the activities of the various organisations. As in the case of the Westmorland Youth Councils, the authorities evidently hope that more and more of the real work and responsibility will be assumed by the Federation. Hertfordshire is also planning an adaptation of the County Badge, with a Service Test (the emphasis in this group is more on performance of service than on training

for it) added to the original Physical, Expedition, and Project tests.

(4) *The Chesterfield Council of Youth*.—This is a Council formed of two representatives from any youth organisations within the Borough. Such representatives must be between the ages of 14 and 18. This Council elects its own officers and has set up an Advisory Committee of six, whose duty it is to examine in detail any proposals approved by the Council and to implement them when confirmed by the Youth Committee. The constitution of this latter committee provides for three representatives of the Council of Youth having places on it and also for the Advisory Committee sitting with the Youth Committee when suggestions put forward by the Council are under discussion. The Council has already done much excellent work and is an alive and enthusiastic body. It has compiled a list of clubs and societies in the area it serves; it has been instrumental in starting new clubs of a variety of types, and it is now engaged in organising a week of activities—garden party, concerts, debates, games, etc.—in order to further interest and incorporate youths at present outside the sphere of any youth activity.

There is much that is promising in the Youth movement. As has been noted, its testing time will come in the days of reconstruction. Its objective must be part of the whole educational objective of the community: what *that* is, depends upon the values consciously sought for by the community as a whole. The Youth Movement must be integrated with all other forms of educational effort in the service of the full aim, and peculiarly appropriate to the needs of the age it serves. It has to solve the problem of how to retain spontaneity together with essential planning and organisation. The extent to which this can be achieved depends upon the nature of the society in which it is to function.

Education after full-time schooling has finished is provided for at present in ways which cover all ages from the school leaving age upwards and in every variety of

subject. The provision is, however, largely unco-ordinated and its heterogeneity is more a mark of its many unrelated efforts made in various parts of the field, than of an integrated purposeful effort over the whole field.

This field may be briefly surveyed under four headings:

- (a) Evening Institutes.
- (b) Provision for Technical and Commercial education.
- (c) Provision for Art education.
- (d) Adult education.

The Evening Institutes have up to the present served a dual purpose. They have provided the means whereby some of those leaving the Elementary Schools at an early age have been able to continue some form of study and they have also enabled somewhat older students to remedy deficiencies in their education which experience has made clear to them. In general, the work done and the subjects taken have been related to the work of those attending the classes, although in more recent years there has been a tendency to develop cultural classes—drama, recreative physical training, music, etc.—as well as those more strictly vocational. The main criticism is that they are a form of education provided by tired teachers for tired children. Only a radical change in the outlook of the community on the relationship between work and education and leisure can effect the reforms which are essential in this sphere.

As the school leaving age rises so does the function of Evening Classes and Institutes change. When the main function of the State system of education was to produce a literate people, such classes were one of the chief means by which more than mere literacy could be attained. With the development of the post-primary school, part of their original field has passed into the province of the schools. Now the demand for further reorganisation and extension of education makes necessary a critical consideration of their purpose and relationship to the

whole field. Their present function is far from satisfactory.

The tendency in recent years has been for the classes for adolescents between 14 and 16 to be mainly preparatory to Technical and Commercial education from 16 onwards. There has been always a second consideration in mind—the need for recreational activities. But it has been in the field of training for work in the desire to obtain “better” employment that the main motive for attendance at these classes has been sought. The boy or girl who attended “the night school” did so, not for the truly educational benefits which would follow, but for the economic ones.

Again, it has to be remembered that attendance at such classes came at the end of a long day's work. There was no question of consideration being given to the whole problem—work and leisure time—in order to determine the parts to be played by each in the development of the potentialities of the adolescent. For the teachers, too, evening school work was in the main a way of supplementing their income. Some came to it from real educational motives, but all came to it tired after a normal day's work.

It must be admitted that Evening Classes and Institutes are failing to achieve either of the purposes which they might be expected to fulfil. They are not forming a bridge between the Senior Schools and the Technical Colleges. The number that proceeds in this way forms a relatively small proportion of those attending. On the other hand, those who attend them for more genuinely educational reasons in a wider sense drift away disappointed and frustrated. The day of the old type of Evening Class has passed. It played its part under other conditions. Modern society needs something more integrated and consistent with its educational purpose.

The direction which reform should take will be discussed in the last section of this volume. Here it will

be enough to suggest that a proper consideration of the educational needs of the immature members of the community will lead inevitably to the provision being such that it will cease to be the interaction of tired teachers and tired students. If there remains a place for Junior Evening Classes at all, they will need to change entirely their nature and purpose. A wider conception of the nature of the educational provision needed in a modern democratic community will result in what is now termed "Evening Class" work being carried out on the stage and in the hall, on the moors or the playing fields, in libraries or picture galleries. The word "class" will disappear here too. One day it will be realised that there are other and better ways of dealing with adolescents than forming a "class" and providing a "teacher."

Technical and Commercial education is provided for in Technical and Commercial Colleges, both in the form of day-time classes, part-time classes and evening classes. Many of the remarks made above apply here. Attendance at full-time day courses usually involves an economic burden on the parents, who forgo the potential earnings of the adolescent. Part-time day classes raise the question of the relative emphasis placed on work and education, while evening classes result in tired students overstraining themselves. All the time the motive force is economic reward and not educational benefit. Until this evil connection between economics and education is destroyed it is useless to talk of equality of opportunity or full development of potentialities. The community needs technicians—even more it needs technicians with a sense of social values. Any community which is clear-sighted enough to realise its own real needs will see to it that its educational provision is adjusted to meet these needs. This means that those with the requisite potential ability will be taken and given such facilities as will enable them to have the chance to fulfil themselves and that the *mode* of provision will be that which best serves

the educational purpose, apart from any economic one. This implies a thorough consideration of the relative parts to be played by all educational influences throughout the period from birth to maturity.

Junior Technical and Commercial Schools at present supply some pre-entry training, but most of the technical and commercial training of young workers has been carried out in Evening Classes. The emphasis has been upon the initiative of the individual student and, again, the motive has been competitive success more than anything else. This will not serve the needs of the modern community. The challenge of the age can only be met by a utilisation of all the potentialities of all the citizens of a community. This realisation is a necessary task for the welfare of the community and the happiness of the citizen. The relationship between the claims of the community and the individual will vary in *different* types of communities. The democratic community has as its basic value the development of those conditions which permit of full and free use of *all* potentialities; the totalitarian community imposes a selection made in the interests of the leaders.

Some firms release their apprentices and junior workers during normal working hours in order that they may attend Technical courses. In 1938 there were about 41,000 young people so released, of whom 13,000 came from the engineering industry. It is clear, therefore, that only the fringe of this problem has been touched so far and that there is need for a thorough examination of the whole problem of the progressive education and training of young people.

What has been said about Technical and Commercial education is equally true about Art education. The whole position requires thorough investigation. The problem is not only that of the relation of art to production, including questions of design, but it spreads out far wider into the realm of the place of art in the general educative process. There is a growing recognition of the import-

ance of art, and of the part it should play in the developmental process. Much excellent progress has been made in some of the modern schools. An extension of the provision for the development of art education throughout adolescence is very necessary.

The provision made for adult education takes a variety of forms. The Board of Education regulations confine the term to those courses and classes devised for persons of at least 18 years of age. Included in this provision are University Tutorial Classes of various kinds, University Extension Courses and lectures, and others organised by such bodies as the Workers' Educational Association, the Miners' Welfare Adult Education Committees, Rural Community Councils, and so on. In addition to such courses and lectures, Local Education Authorities arrange vocational courses, and courses in practical subjects, such as art, music and various crafts.

There is much in all this work that is commendable. It was growing before the present war, and between the years 1928 and 1938 the number of classes and students recognised under the Board's regulations doubled. In some areas there is a diversity of interests catered for, but in other areas the provision made is woefully inadequate. Again there is need for more co-ordination of effort, and particularly is there need to examine the question as to why these courses commonly fail to attract the younger people. It is well known that the average age of adult education classes is higher than it should be, if a fair sample of all age groups enrolled in them were taken. Somehow the existing classes do not appeal to many of the 18-28 group. This means that the main objective of such classes is not gained. They should provide that knowledge which enables people to cope with increasing effect with the problems, both personal and communal, with which they are confronted. At present many of them form "retreatist" activities, and others are discussion circles in which talk is substituted for action.

The question which has to be answered is—What con-

stitutes genuine equality of educational opportunity at all stages, including that of adults? The answer to this question—and it is hard to answer it and harder still to follow the answer when it is obtained—will point the way to a sound system of adult education.

PART III

REORGANISATION

Chapter I

INTRODUCTORY

IN the preceding section some account has been given of the main features which are to be found in the Educational system of this country at the present day. It has been shown that there are in practice three such systems—the Public School system, that of the Secondary Schools and that of the Elementary Schools. Contrary to what might be expected in view of their names, the two latter do not follow one after the other but exist side by side. They are not successive systems but parallel ones. For most of the children of the community Elementary education is their only education. It has been indicated that attempts have been made to break down the division between the Elementary and the Secondary systems, but that so far these efforts have been unsuccessful as far as the real distinction between them—different codes of regulations and standards of accommodation and equipment—are concerned. The stress of war has brought difficulties to the Public School system and the question of its place in a truly national system has been the subject of much discussion. It would have been more convincing had this problem been raised from the point of view of the educational needs of the community rather than from that of the financial needs of the Public Schools. There is always an element of suspicion as to the motives underlying death-bed repentances.

The point of view stressed in this work is that the educational provision of the community is one of the institutions whereby that community seeks to sustain and perpetuate its values and principles. If this be true, then it is clear that a community with a long history, during which varying political and social values have held sway

at different periods, will tend to exhibit contradictions and anachronisms in all its institutions, including the Education service. More particularly is this the case when no virtual revolution, no complete break with the past, has occurred to enable a new start to be made. A comparative study of the present educational systems of England, France, Germany and Russia would confirm the truth of this statement. In the community which has a long history the gradual development of new social and political values, due to exploration, invention and the extension of political power over an increasingly wide field, the educational needs of the new order have had to fight for recognition against those established by the old. The result has been that educational fossils, forms of educational provision alive and necessary in one age but dead and unwanted in the new have developed. But these fossils have the sanction of custom. Individuals and groups have acquired vested interests in them and in their survival, and so arguments concerning them are not conducted rationally but in an atmosphere of prejudice and emotional tension.

When any challenge comes to the community all the institutions of the community tend to come under review, and the more intense and widespread the challenge the less possible is it for any institution to be excluded. That is the position in this country to-day. A totalitarian challenge demands a totalitarian response, although the relative values of the various factors in the response may differ. To say this is not the same as saying that an authoritarian challenge demands an authoritarian response of the same nature as the challenge, as is often quite mistakenly thought to be the case. A democratic community must exhibit the democratic virtues in and through all its institutions if it is to find the effective reply to the authoritarian state which will assuredly be authoritarian throughout its ramifications.

There has been far too much facile talk of the kind which holds that "education is outside politics" and that

"all men of goodwill want the best for children." Those who hold definite political and social views are bound to hold definite educational views and no amount of words will make the opposite statement true. The importance and urgency of the present situation lies in the fact that there is general agreement that the values—economic and social—of the pre-war period will not serve in the post-war age. The challenge has come and the appropriate response must be made or disaster and destruction will loom ahead. There may be controversy over the application of the general principles, and in the methods by which they are to be implemented. But the movement which Lord Goschen saw fifty or more years ago when he remarked, "We are all socialists nowadays," has gathered momentum and is now irresistible. Some would still, no doubt, like to believe themselves to be a modern Canute, but the tide will show them the ineffectiveness of their wishful thinking.

To this must be added the fact of the increased tempo of life, with the corollary that the old leisurely gradual changes will not do in an age in which months, and not years, years and not centuries, become decisive periods. The blitzkrieg is not only a physical phenomenon. It can occur on the battlefield of cultural values as well as on that of the physical conflict. Herein lies the whole case for a thorough overhauling of all our educational machinery now. It must be an overhauling carried out in the light of those broad basic principles of society upon which most men are now agreed. It must review first of all the existing facilities for education and determine their relevance for the new purposes of society. It must determine the main outlines of the necessary new provisions and the steps necessary to produce them. It must consider how the old and the new can be integrated into a consistent whole which is an effective and efficient weapon in the establishment and maintenance of the new community. Above all, it must do this *now*. It is a task calling for insight, faith and determination. It is not one

for tired or war-weary men to attempt. Unless the task is carried out now the community will fail in its response to the challenge at present confronting it.

The position was excellently summed up in a leading article entitled "Training for Life" which appeared in *The Times Educational Supplement* for 31st May, 1941. ". . . it emerges in the clearest possible fashion that the problems of the child and the adolescent, of his nature, education, work and leisure, are not separate problems but integrated and interrelated parts of one and the same problem, that of the training of the individual for life, and that that problem is absolutely and completely relative to the social order . . . so long as inequality of opportunity inheres in the social order, so long will there be ignorance and unemployment and negation of life. . . . If that (vicious) circle is not broken now, while the stimulus which the war brings to social consciousness is still lively, there is faint hope that it will be broken during the years that immediately follow. . . . No policy for youth, no training for life, can be either complete or adequate unless it covers the entire age range from birth to maturity, and is coherent, consecutive and comprehensive throughout . . . the problems of education, of employment, and of leisure are inseparable, and if an attempt is made to separate them, as has been done in the service of youth, success can never be more than partial. To provide facilities for leisure hours while ignoring those of labour is to provide perhaps a palliative, but certainly not a remedy . . . the time is now. The needs of the present generation are not less than any other."

This states the full case for a consideration of all the facts of the educational system and for such consideration being embarked upon now. It also states clearly the relation between social values and educational principles. What are these social values which must be implemented in the educational services of the community?

Chapter II

THE BASES, THE BACKGROUND AND THE ADVENTURE

THE present conflict, and therefore the present challenge to our community, is rooted in the fact that there are two diametrically opposed views of the nature of men. One of these, the authoritarian, holds that some are born to rule and command, while others are born to submit and obey. Under this banner march all those who view society as an hierarchy. It matters not whether the details of the hierarchy vary; it is the principle which matters. Some of those most vocal in their condemnation of the division of mankind by Hitler into leaders and "dumb driven sheep" are not always free from the taint of authoritarianism in other directions.

The other view is that implied by the general term "democratic." Let it be said at once that in no community has this conception yet been given full expression. If it had been, there would be no reason for the writing of this volume. Here and there, both in time and in space, there have existed communities which have given expression to one or other of the various aspects of the democratic ideal. There have been political democracies, and attempts at economic democracies. Occasionally there have been movements towards a cultural democracy. But never has there been a full and complete democracy. It is this fact which is vital to the present situation. For the only way in which the democratic ideal can respond to the challenge of the authoritarian doctrine is by the establishment of the democratic ideal in its entirety.

The conflict is between the view that men can be divided into castes or classes, each with a different set of qualities, and the view which holds that men are essentially equal. To say this does not imply that it is asserted that men are physically equal or mentally equal, any more than it implies that they are of equal height or

weight. But it does imply that each life is potentially of equal value, that each man has hopes and aspirations, dreams and achievements, which for him are of the same significance as those of his fellows are for them. It means that each individual has the right to such conditions as will enable him to develop and use his potentialities for his own well-being and happiness and for the service of his community, just as it also implies that each individual has the duty to fulfil of using these opportunities to the full.

From this basic equality follow two things. The good community must provide:

- (a) *A secure background* against which the individual can live his life. This secure background concerns two fields:
 - (1) *Economic security*.—The discoveries of modern society have made this easily possible, and the modern community must find a way of effecting it in practice.
 - (2) *Security from individual and mass aggression*.—The first of these demands a sound equalitarian system of justice and the second necessitates some form of international organisation.
- (b) *A field for adventure*.—The secure background—secure from economic threats and from aggression—is the framework against which life is to be lived. The field for adventure is life itself. It is that total environment which must be of such a nature that the potentialities of everyone living in the community are provided with the necessary conditions for growth.

So far the application of these principles to education must have been obvious. There must be a real equality of opportunity for all children—an equality which is genuine and not a mere sham—and there must be a secure background to life for every child and a field of adventure for every child. It is in the equality of the

economic security of all children and in the equality of the field of adventure open to them, that equality of educational opportunity is to be found.

The secure background makes necessary considerations of nutriment, medical services, clothing, and so on. The field for adventure is the sphere wherein the growing citizen will develop progressively those marks of democratic mind—a desire to prosecute the search for truth, a willingness to follow the truth when it is found, and a feeling of joy and satisfaction that there are problems to be solved and that the individual has the right and duty to attempt their solution. “See him there, the urchin seated in the sun, with a book in his hand and a wall at his back.” That is the first picture. The wall is the symbol of security, the sun the symbol of the atmosphere in which all children should develop, and the book is symbolic of the means of education. “He has a still thicker wall before him; the wall that hides him from the future.” Here is the second picture—that of the field of adventure ahead of the child. But if he has the secure background he will not shirk the adventure. For that is life, and all wish for life. The present tragedy is that so many expend all their time and all their energies in striving for a precarious economic security, and have neither time nor energy left in which to live. To say that such, having security, would not desire to live, is to libel the whole human race. It may be true that those who now have economic security do not show any great desire for the adventure of life. The answer is that in a world in which the main value *is* security, it will become an end of life and not a means to it. One great teacher began his teaching ministry with the words, “I came that ye might have life.” He finished it with the expression, “It is expedient for you that I go away.” It is the life of each individual that determines how far the educative process has been successful.

These, then, are the basic values. Equality of human worth implies equality of educational opportunities to

develop potentialities. To develop these potentialities it is essential that each child shall have a secure background and a field for adventure. What kind of educational system does this imply?

It is comparatively easy to state a principle. The real test of sincerity of purpose comes in the steps taken to implement it. Equality of opportunity has been taken to mean a lot of strange things since the phrase was first used. To some it has meant an equal opportunity to compete with some children, but not all, for a specific kind of education. Others have viewed it as the provision of a type of education for all which has an economic value in present-day society. Thus arose the slogan "Secondary education for all"—without any precise meaning being given to the adjective "secondary." In fact, it is noteworthy how frequently "equality of opportunity for all" has been taken to mean "identical provision for all." Yet in reality no conceptions could be further apart.

There is more often a willingness to search for the truth than to follow it when it is found. The search may be a secluded, cloistered, sheltered activity. The following of it may lead to the dust and noise of the market-place and the battlefield. The search for truth may be the occupation of the scholarly gentleman; its implementation makes one tendentious. Nothing could illustrate more clearly the way in which our social (and therefore cultural) values have driven a wedge between thought and action. A leading article in *The Times Educational Supplement* for 26th June, 1941, put the matter clearly. "We must ask ourselves two questions and, though it cost 'blood, toil, tears and sweat' (as it will), compel ourselves to give absolutely honest answers to them. The first question is: What does equality of opportunity mean? And when we have answered that, then comes the much harder question: Do we really desire it?"

"There are many solid reasons why equality of opportunity will not, almost cannot, be desired by many people. . . . One is the fact that the educational system

we have built up has been a most efficient safeguard of the social stratification we all in our heart of hearts bow down to and worship. That will hit many of us hard. All the reasons against giving equality of opportunity will be fought for; openly, subtly, or, most dangerous of all, unconsciously. That is why it is so supremely important that each one of us makes absolutely certain that he or she realises fully and precisely the implications of this most revolutionary principle."

Returning to the subject in a later issue (5th July, 1941) *The Times Educational Supplement* used words which express completely the point of view of those who believe that the determinants of the quality of educational reform are to be found in the realm of social values. "Deeply conscious of the inequalities and injustices of the existing social order, and of the way in which education has not merely reflected but helped to create and perpetuate them, they are determined that in the future it shall play an equal, if not greater, part in remedying them. They accept as basic the principle of equality of educational opportunity for all. They realise that its full implications cannot be worked out in the field of education as at present delineated, but they realise also that the working out must start from there. So they aim not merely to extend that field but to make it central and pivotal in the social order. They demand that childhood and youth shall be regarded as a unity, and that until the age of citizenship is reached boys and girls shall remain under the ægis of the education service, which shall have full responsibility for their welfare, education and training—individual, vocational and civic—till they reach the threshold of adult life. It is . . . a different viewpoint demanding a superior quality of reform based on a genuinely democratic principle. 'To every child a chance in life,' to every child the chance to be adequately fitted for the hardest job in life—that of living. The demand is, one must admit, a revolutionary one; only the rarest courage and persistence will secure its fulfilment.

There are already indications that both the courage and the persistence will be forthcoming. The strength will follow."

An attempt will be made in the following pages to state these implications both as regards the background of security and the field for adventure. It is not suggested that the change can be brought about instantaneous¹; but the essential thing at the moment is to have the right objective so that each step we take is a directed step and not part of an uncontrolled and unco-ordinated meandering.

In this and the following sections certain aspects of the educational field must necessarily be discussed as if they were isolated from the total field, but it must be remembered that this isolation does not represent the reality. It is this piecemeal method of discussion and action which has vitiated much educational activity in the past. Always behind the proposals made in respect to any one field must be the criterion—is this proposal in the direction of equal educational opportunity for all?

Another word of caution is necessary. The words and phrases used in educational discussions, as in all discussions, and more particularly in those which deal with social and political problems, exercise a peculiar form of tyranny. The term "education" is itself a typical example. One of the difficulties in discussing the education necessary for a democratic community is that this word has acquired connections with academic training which tend to confuse the issue. Any suggested reform or step in reconstruction must be considered against the background of the community based upon the new values, not against the existing background of values. Against the present background it may seem to be non-realistic and impossible. Against the new background it becomes inevitable.

There are those who would argue that the provision of the secure background has nothing to do with the educational effort of the community. Still more subtle

is the pushing of the necessity for it on one side by some such remark as, "Oh, that's admitted by everyone. Let us get on with the discussion of real educational schemes." This latter remark is one that was actually made at a recent conference on educational reconstruction. Now both these attitudes are wrong. The safe background is essential to an equal educational provision for all: without it that provision may be skilfully planned and energetically implemented. But it cannot provide equality of opportunity unless the security which alone permits of free and full use of it is also present. To say that this is admitted and therefore need not be discussed is to take up an ostrich-like attitude. A lot of things are admitted to be necessary; what matters is the nature of the steps taken to remedy the deficiencies.

At present it cannot be claimed that more than a very small proportion of the children of the community have this basic security. There is no need to prove that statement here. Some of the reports referred to in the first section of this volume present a picture of lives which are lived entirely against a background of insecurity which must negative all constructive activity.

In order to be able to avail itself of the educational facilities available to it, the child must have security of the following types:

- (a) *Security against economic pressure.*—This implies economic security for everyone—for the child's economic security comes through the economic security of the home.
- (b) *Security against malnutrition.*—This implies an adequate system of nutrition for all growing children and adolescents.
- (c) *Security against ill-health.*—This is connected with (b), but implies also a system of remedial and preventative medicine.
- (d) *Security against emotional disturbance.*—This implies a mental hygiene service.

- (e) *Security against individual and mass aggression.*—This involves a system of law and justice and some international organisation.

These five aspects of security must be the right of every child if there is to be any genuine equality of educational opportunity. Reference has already been made to the vicious circle in which the children of the unemployed are caught up. Those who have had any experience with the children of the unemployed are only too well aware of the effects of the economic insecurity of their home life upon them. In the first place it distorts the relative importance of things. The threat of insecurity makes security appear as the ultimate end of life instead of as merely a means of attaining that aim. Education becomes of value only as a means to economic security. Examinations are the gateway to security and so the pressure on the child increases. Long continued unemployment has devastating effects on the homes of children whose fathers are subject to it. Gradually apathy descends upon the whole family. Perhaps in the early days of unemployment the father goes out confidently to seek for a new job. Gradually this eagerness and confidence are sapped; then come the days when despair replaces hope. The fear spreads to the children. Even before they leave school they are fearful of their prospects of employment. Add to this the fact that once they leave the period of formal schooling the community takes but little notice of their real needs and the plight of these young people becomes clear. Is it to be wondered that the community increasingly suffers from its own blindness in its handling of its potential sources of renewed life?

It is no answer to say that there is no unemployment now and that it will not recur. Unless the social values of the community change it will inevitably recur, and recur in increasingly severe spells. Neither can the educationist respond that unemployment is no concern of his. Anything that affects the development of the child

from birth to maturity, anything which denies equality of opportunity to the child, is the proper concern of the democratic educator. To concentrate our gaze on formal schooling, trying to persuade ourselves that this is the whole of education, is a mixture of wishful thinking and an ostrich-like refusal to face the facts. But it is of no use to concentrate our efforts on a partial amelioration of the situation by being content to make that "progress" which existing social values permit us to make. Economic insecurity results in apathetic children, who have lost their power of creative effort. They are fearful of adventure, for the price is too high. "Safety first" becomes their life motto and education is degraded into a signpost to that safety. Only those who have never experienced the threat of unemployment with no reserve of economic resources will ever argue that the economic struggle is productive of good.

Economic security in the home is no criterion that children will be adequately nourished. In this question of nutrition there are two factors involved which are often confused. Children may be mal-nourished or under-nourished, i.e. they may have the wrong food or not enough food. In the worst cases both factors operate together. The demands of totalitarian warfare are causing a wide extension of the canteen method of feeding, and it can hardly be doubted that this development will survive the war. If children are to have equality of opportunity they must be adequately and properly nourished. Should only "necessitous cases" be fed, or should this be a form of provision for all children? Experience seems to suggest the latter. Parents of boys at Public Schools seem to find no difficulty in accepting the provision of meals as part of the educational service purchased for their sons. There seems no good reason why the same should not be part of the educational provision for all children. If it is retorted that the parents of the children attending the Public Schools pay for their children's meals, the reply must be made that this

illustrates perfectly the evil that has to be eradicated from our educational system, which is that things essential to each child's right to equality of opportunity are either dependent upon the ability of the parent to pay or rather contemptuously dismissed as charity. (The above is not to be taken as implying that the meals provided at Public Schools constitute a sound scheme of nutriment!) School meals based on a carefully planned dietary appropriate to the age and complete needs of the child must be provided for all children. The method of payment for these, so long as the present economic inequalities continue, will be discussed in a later section. Such administrative details can never affect the principle. One thing is clear. There must be no question of charity here. Many a child has suffered agonies of emotional disturbance because it has been the recipient of free meals in a society in which charity denotes superiority on the part of the giver and social inferiority for the recipient.

The third demand of the child is for the security which comes from good physical health. It is obviously not possible to secure perfect health for all children by legislative action. But the medical services which are connected with the well-being of children should have as their aim a gradual movement from the remedial aspect of their work to the preventive one. The only ultimate test of the efficacy of the school medical service is not the number of cases it deals with, but the gradual diminution of the number of cases. It achieves its aim by gradually rendering the service less necessary from the point of view of remedial work. It is true that at present most School Medical Officers have to devote the greater part of their time to remedial work. But this should not be allowed to obscure the fact that the only real lasting cure is the provision of conditions which prevent ill-health from developing. This means a widening conception of the service. It necessitates an ante-natal clinic and an effective maternity and child welfare centre. It has to take into account housing problems and adequate nour-

ishment. Nuisery Schools are part of a preventive medical service from one point of view, and attention has to be paid to the heating, lighting and ventilation of all school buildings and the type and distribution of the seating provided. Where defects are not remediable, this service has a part to play in determining the conditions under which the child can best be educated.

The well-nourished, physically healthy child is not always able to make use of the facilities provided for his education. Unless there is normal emotional development, behaviour troubles may result with damaging effects. Emotional mal-adjustment is more common than is generally realised. It may develop from a variety of causes. Conflicts between parents and children (conscious and unconscious), between the home and the school, or between one child and other children are all fruitful sources of such emotionally disturbed states. This is matter to which insufficient attention has been paid. Perhaps we have been overmuch concerned with the education of the intellect to pay much attention to the education of the emotions. Some have discovered that the manipulation of the emotions is the surest way to the control of the crowd. The modern advertising agent and propagandist rely on this power to effect their purpose. It is not, as is sometimes imagined, a question of the emotions versus the intellect. The assumption that the intellect directs one way and the emotions pull another is a false one. It is a question of the intellect and emotions being integrated in the achievement of the selected end.

The smallest trifle may be the originating cause of an emotional mal-adjustment which may have most serious results for the child. The development of Psychological Clinics, or Children's Centres, or Child Guidance Clinics, is a sign that there is an increasing recognition of the need for such treatment. Again, the ultimate objective of such a development must be the determination of those conditions in the pattern of the child's life which will result

in adjustment being the rule, and mal-adjustment the rare exception. The service must in the first place be a research service using each case as material in its effort to gain that knowledge, which is so vital and yet at present so scanty, of the kind of "soil" in which children can grow to full capacity, neither being stunted on the one hand nor forced on the other. While this research—and to it many more workers will need to be recruited—is under progress, there must be remedial work. The "team" of the Children's Centre is usually composed of a Psychiatrist, Psychologist, Playroom Worker and Social Worker, together with, of course, the School Medical Officer. Here contact is made again with the need for integration. This time it is the integration of the various "pictures" of the child which need fusion. The parent has one picture—perhaps each parent has a separate picture. The teacher has one; the doctor has one; the Probation Officer has one if the child has behaviour problems and becomes a delinquent. But it is one and the same child all the time. A physical defect may develop educational retardation, and this may be the origin of some emotional disturbance. It is often hard to say which, if any, single factor is the root cause of the trouble. So it must be attacked from all sides in an effort to produce an integrated being. The need for such centres is clear; their value is increasingly understood. For them to have their full value there is needed a wide psychological and sociological investigation of the factors operative in the child's environment. This investigation must always have a twofold purpose. It must be directed towards remedying the situation which has given rise to the state of emotional insecurity, but it must go far beyond this and aim at a determination of the kind of background which will produce normal emotional growth and security. Once more, as in those services which concern physical well-being, the criterion is not the number of cases satisfactorily cured but the number of cases which are prevented.

Finally, there must be security for the child against physical aggression either by the individual or by a group. The fate of the children of an obviously insecure group—those of the unemployed—has already been discussed. When young people grow up under the constant threat of physical aggression from other groups it is impossible to expect full expression of their creative powers. In such a world the prevalent philosophy must be one which drives them to satisfy the whim of the passing moment rather than to attempt to satisfy deeper and more lasting values. The actual achievement will always fall short of the possible so long as effort is concentrated upon securing the necessary condition for the continuance of life instead of upon the actual living of it. The struggle to prevent an evil must be replaced by the battle to secure the good. In this effort there is no place for any policy of appeasement. In fact, the only certain way to prevent the evil is to achieve the good. This does not mean a placid, bovine existence from the cradle to the grave. It means that, in a world where the means of life can be made available to all through the inventiveness of man, human effort should be directed in the main to the enrichment of life by the conscious development of human potentialities. The field for adventure changes. In the early history of mankind it lay in the realm of the maintenance of life; now it is to be found in the realm of developing life. If it is argued that competition for the means of life brings a zest to life, the answer must be that in education also it was once claimed that the fear of physical punishment was a satisfactory motive. To develop a secure background to life is not to take the adventure out of life. It is the means whereby the level of the adventure can be raised and its range extended from a narrow field to the whole field of the arc of human possibilities. It is to the nature of this field of adventure for all young people from birth to maturity that attention must now be directed.

The education of a democratic community is a matter

that concerns each member of that community to an equal extent. There cannot be in it anything which partakes of the nature of charity given by one class to another, and it cannot be dependent upon social prestige or financial status. It is true that the supporters of the authoritarian faith, based as it must be upon the conception of a class-divided society, are bound to view education as training for a niche in that society, a niche determined not by the abilities and needs of the individual but by the demands of the State. The supporters of the democratic faith, on the other hand, have for their objective a community in which life in all its richness is made possible only by the development of all the potentialities of all its members, in order that the individual may achieve full stature and the community benefit by the activities of such creative individuals. It is easy to pay lip service to such an ideal, but harder to follow its implications to the end.

It has been pointed out that the educational system of any community will reflect the values upon which the community is founded. If there is inequality in the community there will be inequality in the educational system which that society provides and maintains. In other words, the educational system acts as a reflection of the society, and the good and evil of the latter can be seen in the strong and weak points of the former. But an educational system has always a second function, for it has an important part to play in the creation of the future of society. The relative parts played by the *reflective* and *creative* functions of an educational system will vary from age to age and place to place. Generally speaking, the reflective function is more apparent in stable periods and the creative one more dominant in periods of crisis. These are the periods in which challenges of one kind or another come to a society and in which the search for the appropriate response becomes urgent. The deeper the challenge, and the more members of the community it affects, the greater will be the unrest and ferment in that com-

munity until the resolution of the crisis brings with it relief. The present age is presenting a challenge to Western civilisation which goes to its very roots. Hence the unrest of the age and hence the common agreement that there is a need for the regeneration of society and its re-establishment on the basis of new values. In its function as a reflector of society the educational system will exhibit this same unrest and probing for new ways. That this is so to-day no one will doubt. Few would be found to maintain that the educational system of the community is satisfactory, or that it is effective in achieving that which it should in a democratic society. The danger is that the unrest may pass with the temporary passing of the challenge and that some expedient which appears to answer the challenge, but which in fact only postpones its final assault, will be welcomed because of inability to meet and answer the challenge in a constructive way. This inability to deal properly with the situation may come from a prejudice in favour of existing forms of education, from mental sloth, or from mental weariness. It is the sure sign of ultimate defeat.

The educational system must in such a period assume to the fullest extent its rôle as one of the creative forces of the new order. Because it reflects society, it will reflect its unrest and sense of dissatisfaction with existing things. Because it is concerned with the citizens of the new society it has a greater opportunity, and therefore a greater responsibility, to affect the course of events and to orientate the coming generations in the new paths. It cannot lay down the new conditions and institutions in detail. It can chart the direction of the march and provide the pioneers with the weapons and the sustenance they will require in their adventure. Towards the end of the last war General Smuts said, "Mankind has struck its tents and is once more on the march." That the march was not a well-directed one is evidenced by the recurrence of the crisis. It is now seen that what was fondly imagined to be the conclusion of a war was but an

armistice, and that failure to answer a challenge has resulted in its recurrence with increasing intensity. There must be no repetition of this failure, for it would prove fatal to our civilisation. Nor is the effective response to it, success in the present war, essential though that may be. The destruction of the evil thing must be followed by an equally determined and grim effort to establish the good thing. For the physical effort this community was found largely unprepared, due to a combination of slothfulness, mental apathy, wilful blindness and ineffective leadership. To be found similarly unprepared for the sterner task of achieving a more just society, a task which will have to be accomplished in the face of prejudice and apathy, but upon the need for which there is a growing volume of emphasis, would be unforgivable and inexcusable. The preparation must be preparation now—not improvisations, however brilliant, forced upon us at the last moment. This means that within the educational system there must be made those investigations and critical evaluations which “clear the soil of weed.” At the same time the direction of the march must be determined, although the actual paths to be followed may have to be determined subsequently.

This point of view was expressed very forcibly in a leading article published in *The Times Educational Supplement* on the 12th July, 1941: “But the sole function of an educational system is not to act as a reflector of society. A purpose of education at all times is to help shape the future. The more settled the social order, the more faithfully will its educational system tend to reflect its qualities, but during periods of social change it becomes at one and the same time both undesirable and impossible for the educational system to mirror society. In any period of grave unsettlement, and few have been graver than the present, the educationist is faced with the necessity of coming to a crucial decision. Is the educational system to point the way to a new order, or is it to wait on events and then adapt itself to whatever order society evolves?”

. . . At present three courses lie open to the educationist: to wait on events, to try to effect a compromise between the old order and the new (in so far as that can be anticipated), or boldly to accept the responsibility and to build an educational system that can play a leading part in the shaping of the new order. . . . The course as yet most loudly and widely advocated is that of compromise. Both private and public education in England are largely controlled by individuals who have had no personal experience save in a directive or administrative capacity of the public educational system, and who are capable of understanding and appreciating to a limited degree only, if at all, the ideals, abilities, aspirations, character and culture of the mass of the people. The average citizen having received so little of it, is quite ignorant of the boundless possibilities of education and is consequently apathetic and inarticulate . . . the very idea of compromise involves also that of gradualness; and that, in its turn, involves reflection rather than creation. . . . There is a rapidly mounting demand—or, more accurately, the demand is becoming more articulate: it has long been latent—that the public educational system shall assume its more creative function, and play its full part in determining the nature of the society of the future.”

The task is a very important one just because the educational system is a reflector of society. Normally the attempt to change an educational system in such a fashion as to make it preparatory for a new social order would be taken as an attempt at revolution, as indeed it is. But the significance of the present moment lies in the fact that an increasing number of people are convinced of the need for a new social system and are therefore prepared to welcome radical changes in the educational sphere in preparation for these. But one thing is certain. To change the educational system and to think that this is sufficient in itself would be fatal. It would mean that there would be a gradual reversion to the reflective func-

tion of schools. Social reform and educational reform must go on as one process. A social revolution is due and will demand an educational revolution. The schools are an important part of the armament which the community must use to achieve its social purposes. Educational reform must be grounded in the belief of the necessity of social reform and a willingness to work for its attainment. The community which is static will have static schools; the dynamic community will have creative ones.

If it is assumed that the British community is anxious to proceed upon the path that leads to a society in which all have a genuine opportunity of living the fullest life which their potentialities permit, what must be the nature of the educational provision made by the community? All that can be done here is to attempt to state the principles which must underlie the proposals made and then to attempt to sketch the outlines of the system. The necessary principles would appear to be two:

- (a) That there must be genuine educational opportunity for all.
- (b) That from birth to maturity it is the educative aspects of the child's experiences which must receive first consideration.

It is easy to see how much of our present system and procedure would disappear by the application of these principles. The existing three systems would vanish, to be replaced by one system. The rigid school leaving age for the majority of the children of the community would disappear. It would be unthinkable that any child should "leave school" with some of his abilities half-developed and with others quite undeveloped. So, too, it would be unthinkable that a child should continue to receive a form of education of no *educational* value to him just because his father can afford to purchase social and economic advantages for him. Again, before maturity it would be obvious that "work" must be such, and done

under such conditions, that it is the educative value of it that is considered, and not its economic value to the child's parents or the "profit value" to an employer. There are many other deductions, but these will serve to give some indication of the revolutionary changes which a sincere application of the principles would entail.

From the first principle stated above—that there must be *genuine* equality of educational opportunity for all children—there can be deduced certain necessary features of the educational provision of the community. The more important ones are:

- (a) That the educational effort of the community must, in its entirety, make it possible to assess the potentialities of all children, and also provide an environment in which they will be stimulated and provided with those things necessary for their growth.
- (b) That there must be no relationship between financial position and/or social status of parents and the educational facilities open to their children.
- (c) That the educational provision must be fluid enough to allow for its being fitted to the needs of the children instead of children being fitted into it. This means the abolition of the "catastrophic age." There are two such ages in the present system. The first is the transfer examination at the age of 11 plus, and the second is the "leaving age" of 14 plus (for most children). Both must go. The former must be replaced by diagnoses of ability—and this takes time and careful investigation and cannot be done in a day. The latter must be replaced by the conception of educational facilities for all *for that length of time* which is necessary for the *educational* objective to be attained. All this implies a far wider conception of education than is common at present. Further references to both these points will be made later.

From the second principle the more obvious deductions are:

- (1) That up to the age of full citizenship the child or young person is primarily a subject for education and not a unit in the industrial machine.
- (2) That there must be educational provision for all up to the age of full citizenship.
- (3) That such "work" as the young person may undertake up to that age shall be done for its educative value and not for its economic value.
- (4) That so far as children and young people are concerned factors hitherto regarded as opposed—school work and "other" work—must now be considered as partners in the full educative process. It must not be a case of the schools and industry in conflict for the possession of youth. Education is not only *preparation* for industry but both the schools and industry have a part to play in the total educational effort of the community. Both have a contribution to make in the development of the democratic citizen.

These deductions indicate the main features of the necessary new educational system. It is difficult to represent a fluid system diagrammatically, but the following may serve to indicate some of the chief features of the suggested school and educational systems.

THE SCHOOL SYSTEM

(The basic services referred to above are assumed throughout)

<i>Age Range</i>	<i>Type of Provision</i>
2-7 plus or 8.	Nursery Schools.
7 plus or 8-12 plus or 13.	Primary Schools.
12 plus or 13 onwards.	Post-primary Schools.

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

<i>The Principle</i>	<i>Basic Provision</i>	<i>Age Range</i>	<i>Type of Provision</i>
From birth to maturity —the educative aspect of all experiments must be the dominant one.	For all ages (involving the necessary services). 1. Security: (a) Economic. (b) From aggression. 2. Nutrition. 3. Physical, mental and emotional well-being	Ante-natal to 2	(a) Ante- and post-natal clinics (including education for parenthood). (b) Crèches.
		From 2 to whatever age is necessary in each case.	The School System (see separate diagram).
		Post-school to 20.	The transition stage: (a) Professional training. (b) First two years college or university. (c) Education through actual work
		From 20 to 21.	Pre-adult year. (a) Six months' practical community service. (b) Six months' education for citizenship. (c) Education for parenthood.
		21 plus.	Adult education. (a) Completion of university and college courses (b) Facilities for travel and study. (c) Provision for research.

After 12 plus or 13 *age* does not enter into the question of the length of the course, the deciding factor in every case being the time necessary to develop the special abilities of any particular child. These abilities would determine the nature and extent of the formal schooling after the age of 13. This is not to be taken to mean that at some age—15, 16 or 17—education will “cease” for some children. It only means that the treatment of children after 13 must inevitably become more specialised.

There are three main lines of development from the Secondary School :

- (a) *The University*.—This will provide for the education of those of 18 plus who have the kind of ability which can profit by the work done in a University which is fulfilling its proper purpose. This further implies a consideration of the nature and function of a University.
- (b) *The Technical College*.—This will provide for those of 18 plus whose abilities are such that they will develop into skilled technicians.
- (c) *An educative-training scheme*.—It would be easy to write “Day Continuation Schools” here, but much more than that is implied. What is intended is that for those who have not the kind of ability which makes them suitable either for the University or Technical College there must be provided a scheme whereby their education is continued along lines suitable to their abilities. The difficulty is that we have little conception of what constitutes a suitable education in this case and therefore no suitable words in which to express it. To use words pregnant with meaning in the old system of education is to invite misunderstanding. The point is that up to the age of maturity any work carried out must be done under conditions which make the educative value of it the paramount consideration. This means a regulation of the hours of employ-

ment and the general conditions of employment (sanitation, canteen arrangements, social and recreative arrangements). The economic question has just not got to come into this. The way to avoid this is to fix a rate of payment for all young people of a given age, and to provide that this be paid no matter what type of employment is followed. This is not at all impossible. It might be necessary to provide that some time before the age of 18 a number of young people had two spells of training through work in different types of employment in order that they may be helped to come to a decision as to their bent. At present most children do not have such a choice. To provide it would mean that each industry would be participating in the training of its own personnel. Each industry could estimate the number of young workers it required and the better firms could co-operate in providing the training. Each industry could make a financial contribution dependent upon its requirements and a Government grant could provide any balance necessary to make the equalised payments to all juveniles. This would prevent the entry into blind-alley appointments because of their immediate financial return and it would also do away with the economic pressure on the parents.

The length of these periods of work-training would have to vary in the various industries and occupations. They should be a recognised part of the educational system of the community and there should be also a recognition of the fact that industry must help in the training of young workers not from the selfish point of view of its own benefit but from the wider viewpoint of the welfare of the community.

At about the age of 18 some young people would proceed to a proper University training, some to higher

technical training and some to a further stage of training through work. This might take the form of a year's or two years' work in the selected occupation, again under suitable conditions, and again with due provision being made for medical supervision and for social and recreative activities.

One other thing seems necessary. Whether at Universities, Colleges or in training work, it would appear eminently desirable that all should return to a common educative influence for a "pre-adult" year. Six months of this might well be spent in concrete community service training and the second six months in a live training in the principles and practice of citizenship. The experiences already gained would give concrete content to such a course. The opportunity of coming together and sharing experiences would serve to emphasise that it was a common citizenship upon which all were about to enter, not one which meant privileges for some and worries for others.

These suggestions are not intended to be viewed as a rigid system. There must be variations here and there, but variations must be made only when the needs of the children and young people demand it.

It is now possible to discuss one or two points in more detail. The ante- and post-natal clinics are essential and properly organised crèches are necessary. The old Infants' School disappears and is replaced by a Nursery School system extending from 2 to about 7 plus or 8. Nursery Schools are part of the educational provision of the community. The idea that they are only necessary in areas where living conditions are poor is an entirely erroneous one and one which derives from the conception of education as a charity for the "children of the deserving poor." It is often the pampered, priggish child of the precariously placid middle-class parent who most needs such provision. There is more in it than this, however. The child in whom the senses are inadequately developed and trained will be the adult lacking in power

of thought and imagination. From 2 plus to 7 plus or 8 is one unit. There is no place for a transfer at 5, and to have a distinct kind of school from 5 to 7 plus is to disturb unnecessarily the course of the child's development. The best Infants' Schools of to-day use what are in effect Nursery School methods. The emphasis upon teaching children to read and write as early as possible is due to the pressure of the Junior School, in its turn the subject of the pressure of the transfer examination. Some children are ready to proceed to the next stage at a different chronological age from others. It is all a matter of maturation. It does not therefore appear desirable to make a rigid age of transfer, but to keep this fluid and to say that somewhere about 7 to 8 most children should go forward to the next stage.

Here comes an important change. The original Hadow Committee fixed 11 plus as the age of transfer from Primary to Post-Primary Schools. There is no doubt that this age was conditioned by the need for a three years' course in the latter schools as a minimum. The Spens Report stuck to the same age, but seemed to have doubt as to the possibility of determining the abilities of children by a catastrophic examination at the age of 11 plus and so suggested that the first two years in *all* types of post-primary education should be the same in order that there could be a further sorting at about 13. Those with experience in existing schools will know that this is just playing with the problem. It is the transfer at 11 plus which matters and which determines the future of by far the greater number of children. How many children, particularly how many children of the fee-paying parents, who showed no capacity for academic education, would be transferred from Grammar Schools to Modern Senior Schools, to make room for those having the requisite ability? That is the test. If these two years are to be the same for all children, there would appear to be no good reason why they should not be spent in the reformed Junior School. They should be in the nature of "explor-

atory" years—years during which the growing child tests his developing powers on a variety of activities and during which his teachers are exploring his capabilities and qualities. Careful records of each individual child would be made during these years. His qualities, defects, trends, would all be noted. During these years, too, careful tests of his general intelligence and specific abilities would be applied. On the basis of these tests and this record of observation a decision as to the type of education best suited to him would be made. The act of decision would have to be one for the Education Authority, but it would be upon the data collected and suggested that the decision would be arrived at. Once more, 13 is not intended to be a rigid catastrophic age. In some cases children would reveal their potentialities earlier and could go forward. In other cases, development and diagnosis alike would take longer. Equality of educational opportunity does not mean all children proceeding through the same course at the same speed. It means all children proceeding through a course suitable to their abilities at a speed appropriate to their rate of development.

The above is an outline of the field of adventure which is commonly called the educational provision of the community. It extends from birth to maturity; it leads from the helpless baby to the creative citizen. Many details need filling in, but the general picture is that of Nursery and Primary education in the same schools for all children, followed at about 13 or thereabouts by Secondary education of a type related to the children's abilities. The length of this stage depends upon these abilities and the length of time needed to develop them. The scheme visualises a type of Secondary School with varied courses—perhaps longer than the present ones—rather than schools centred round different types of future work. It visualises a closer connection of industry with education and a pre-adult year in which the implicit training in citizenship given throughout the educational course

should be made explicit. Nothing has been said of adult education, but it should be clear that this field will need overhauling in the light of the principles that have been laid down. It has been shown in a previous section how chaotic and unco-ordinated are the present efforts at adult education in the community. There is a need for adult residential colleges open without economic hardship to anyone who can benefit by attendance at them for the purposes of intensive study or research work. There is need for the provision of facilities for dramatic work, music and art, and for a whole wide range of recreative activities.

Finally, nothing has been said on what is perhaps the most important topic, that of the teachers who will have to do so much towards the realisation of the new ideals. This is so vital a consideration that space will have to be devoted to it. Here it is enough to state that to say they cannot be found is no retort. If they cannot, then indeed the community cannot answer the challenge that has come to it. They can be found and must be found, for only if they are found in adequate numbers can the children of the community be given equal educational opportunities.

The field for adventure widens as the possibilities of life widen. The child's field for adventure is the educational service provided by the community. The community which adventures greatly will make great provision and will reap a reward beyond all expectation.

Chapter III

CURRICULA AND METHODS

A THOROUGH-GOING overhaul of curricula has long been overdue. The spate of discussion which has burst forth upon the place of certain "subjects" and upon the need for the introduction of new ones, is evidence of this. Yet rarely has the point of view been adopted that what is necessary is the consideration of the content of the education process as a whole. It is not a revision of the curriculum that is needed, nor a shifting of the emphasis from one group of subjects to another. To substitute the "2 P's" (Physical Training and Practical Activities) for the "3 R's" is not enough. Nor is the introduction of "Civics" or "Citizenship" a solution of the problem. It may be that discussions upon the curriculum have been popular because they have been "soft options" in place of discussions upon the purpose and function of the educational system as a whole. But the time for all this has passed. The need of the time is a thorough and critical examination of the existing curriculum and an imaginative consideration of new possibilities, based upon a consideration of that which is necessary to implement the principle of equal educational opportunity for all. In such a revaluation of existing curricula and in the planning of the new, there can be no room for prejudice in favour of this or that "subject" and no place for the theory that "what was good enough for me is good enough for my children." Society is on the march; new values are being stated and established; the educationists must think and think very acutely about the content of education and must bear in mind that the children are to be educated for the world of to-morrow, not that of to-day. The curriculum must be such that it is a creative force in education and in society. At the time when an earlier proposal to raise the school leaving age to 15 plus was under discussion, certain bodies issued a questionnaire upon the curriculum. Such questions as "Should any

subject or part of a subject be added to or taken from the curriculum " indicates the atomistic attitude in which they approached the matter. This is unfortunately true of much of the discussion that has taken place. It views the curriculum as composed of a number of units each of which can be justified or condemned in isolation, apart from considerations of the part it plays in relation to other sections of the curriculum. It is essential that the curriculum be conceived and planned as a unit. Its function is to serve as an effective weapon in the achievement of the purpose of education in the curriculum. It must reflect the best that is in the community to-day and it must be creative of that which is necessary, but at present lacking. All that enters into it must be relevant to this purpose and must be integrated into a whole in order that the maximum effort may be mobilised in the struggle to achieve it.

The first essential is to adopt the correct attitude to the problem. The common method of dealing with it is to discuss the appropriateness or otherwise of some " subject " which has a place in the curriculum or is struggling to gain one. The present need demands more drastic action. It is of no use in this matter, as in others concerned with the reconstruction of the educational system, to criticise the curriculum as it were from within. It must be considered coldly and critically from without, with the sole motive of making it adequate to its task. Some words used by Professor F. Clarke with reference to the whole educational system, in a letter in *The Times Educational Supplement* for 19th July, 1941, apply equally here.

" It may be said that this country has had revolutions before. The answer to that is that the present one is wholly unprecedented in the rapidity of its movement, the depth from which it springs, the range of life that it affects, and the length to which it is likely to carry us. Surely it is a wholly inadequate response to such a vast upheaval to take up one's standpoint within the educational structure as it

is now and to suggest merely some expansion here, some readjustment there, and a little reconditioning at some other points. Difficult and dizzying as the effort may be, we have to find some standpoint *outside* the educational system, and from that determine as best we may the direction that is being taken by a civilisation now on the march as never before. Then we may frame some conception of what we really want and may hope to get in the matter of a reordered society. With some clear ideas about that we can then understand better not only the lines along which the educational system is to be 'reconstructed' but also—and this is much more important—the purposes and values by which it is to be re-inspired."

The need for an educational revolution should be apparent to all, and its objective is clear. Every child and young person must have genuine equality of educational opportunity. This means a system of education extending from birth (or before) to maturity, during the whole of which the educational aspect of the experiences through which the child and young person passes is of primary importance. To provide genuine equality of educational opportunity it will be necessary to develop a system of education of far more genuine variety, and of far greater intensity, than anything that has yet been attempted. The main plan of the system having been decided, the focus of discussion shifts to that of the necessary curriculum, the selection and training of the teachers, and the appropriate methods. The revolution is distinguished from a reconditioning process by the fact that it takes up an entirely fresh standpoint. Perhaps it would be more true to say that it takes up a standpoint which has been nominally adopted in the past, but that the difference is that the new outlook demands a genuine and unswerving application of its implications. The curriculum has to be made to serve the purpose of the community as expressed in the educational system; it has to commence with the needs of the child both as an individual having certain potentialities and possibilities,

and as a member of a certain kind of society. These two needs have always to be borne in mind. They indicate that both psychology and sociology have a part to play in the framing of the appropriate curriculum and how dangerous it is to rely upon tradition and prejudice, and our own predilections, as forces in the selection of subjects for study. They point to the use of a much wider range of activities as proper ingredients in an integrated curriculum and to the volume of research that will be necessary before the problem can be solved. An investigation into the present curriculum with a view to the discovery of the time at which certain elements entered into it, and the social forces which brought them in, would be invaluable, but it must be remembered that such a research is of value only in so far as it serves to emphasise the fact that it is social forces which are operative and that after this stage of the research has been accomplished another must be started which has for its point of origin the needs of the society to which we march. It would, however, do much to clarify discussions upon curriculum problems if the curricula now being used in various types of schools were taken and the origin of each element in them thoroughly investigated. It would be found that the needs of economic and social systems which have now lost their significance were responsible for some of the existing "subjects." It would no doubt appear that as their primary purpose ceased to be a cogent reason for their retention, other secondary reasons, such as their "cultural" value, or their value from the point of view of "mental training" took the place of the decaying social reason. The argument as to which subjects are "cultural" and which "vocational" would appear in its true light, and the fact that some subjects originally strictly "vocational" are now termed "cultural," while they are in reality "prestigious" (i.e. having social prestige) might result in the one criterion of education being applied to all activities to the exclusion of the use of emotionally tinged words.

If the new curriculum is to be based on the needs of the child and the needs of society, and if it is to be far wider in its range than it has been hitherto, then it must be realised that the new conception of society means a complete revision of our ideas on this topic. There is a need, as has been pointed out, for a psychological investigation into the needs of the child. There is equally a need for a sociological investigation into the educational needs of the new society. The educational system has to be such that by building on the first need it will satisfy the second one. It is obviously impossible to describe here the form which the new curriculum will take, for the essential research work has as yet hardly been planned, let alone carried out. All that can be done is to point out certain principles upon which it will have to be based.

It will have to take more account of the needs of the child. The present educational system is dominated far too much by conceptions which originated in the factory system. Reference has already been made to two of these—the catastrophic transfer at 11 plus—from one factory to another, as it were—and the cessation of all education for the majority at 14 plus. But the influence of the “factory” ideas goes further than this. The common acceptance of the idea that at a given chronological age a child should be able to read, to do certain arithmetical processes, commence a language, study mathematics, carry on practical activities, or participate in communal ones, is another example of it. Has it ever been scientifically determined that at the age of 11 plus children have developed the necessary powers which enable them to engage satisfactorily in some of the practical activities of the Modern Senior School? Is the amount of time devoted to reading (under the influences of the development of printing and the political need for a literate people) justified in a community which, under the influence of the development of the cinema, the wireless, television and the telephone, is becoming a community of listeners and spectators? Has the emphasis

on the written word been overdone? Is not ability to express orally facts and views clearly and simply a necessary technique to-day? Is it known at what stage of development techniques and skills can be taught most efficiently and with the minimum of wasted effort? Do we not commonly mistake ability to use words about any topic for knowledge of that topic? A paper in history set to the Fourth Form of a large boys' Grammar School in July of this year (1941) contained the three following questions, amongst others:

- (a) *What is the connection between Wolsey's fall and the divorce question?*
- (b) *Distinguish between*
 - (1) *The Political Reformation.*
 - (2) *The Doctrinal Reformation.*
 - (3) *The Counter-Reformation.*
- (c) *What were the main differences between Puritanism, Anglicanism and Catholicism?*

It should be remembered that the average age of these boys was 13 plus.

This brings out all too clearly the baneful influence of examinations upon the curriculum. The latter has often been framed, not from educational considerations, but in order to produce the best crop of examination results. The curriculum of the Junior Schools, both in its "subjects" and in the balance between "subjects," keeps in view the transfer examination at 11 plus. The Secondary School keeps its eye upon the School Certificate and the Higher School Certificate, and finally upon University scholarships. In the school in which the examination paper quoted above was set there are excellent teachers of both French and History who have a wonderful record in Higher School Certificate and in University scholarships. For this reason many boys take French and History as Higher School Certificate subjects. They win scholarships, go to the University, and return to do the only thing they are fitted to do—teach French or History

to another generation with the same vicious circle in mind. No wonder there is discontent in thinking circles and no wonder that a thorough revolution is required. The present situation is tragic if it is viewed without prejudice. The Junior School curriculum is largely conditioned by the needs of those few who will win free places. There is no real diagnosis of ability—only the training for an examination of a narrow type. It sets the few on the path to improved social and economic status. For the many their Junior School years, which should have been so pregnant for future development, have been just wasted and misdirected effort. The same is true of the next stage in that obstacle race which is mis-termed the provision of educational opportunity. Attention is focussed upon the needs of the few, and many suffer an entirely unsuitable course in order that these few may get a reward. The tragedy would not be so grim if even these few obtained real educational benefit. In the main all they obtain is economic and social status. If there is to be genuine equality of educational opportunity for all, the curricula of all schools will have to be reconsidered in the light of the needs of the children and young people and the needs of society. Relevance to these two needs is the only criterion by which to judge the place which any activity should take in the curricula of the new schools.

These needs may be classified as personal, social and economic, although any division made is bound to result in some overlapping. The economic needs of the child and young person relate to the work, goods and money of the world, the social needs to his relationships with other people, groups and institutions. The personal needs are those which are more directly concerned with the development of this individuality or personality.

The means of satisfying these needs, as indeed the relative importance of them, will vary from age to age in the child's life, and will also vary in different situations in time and space. It is here that the need for careful

research becomes again apparent. The magnitude of the task is an indication of the number of workers needed and the integrity of mind and critical powers with which they must be equipped.

When the relevant activities for various ages and for the varying types of ability have been determined, a second factor—that of the need for integrating them into a curriculum—must be considered. It is not without significance that there has been considerable discussion as to what should be the integrating “subject” in the curriculum. Some have found it in civics, some in the “Mother Tongue,” and some in religion. The fact is that the integrating factor is not a subject, but a purpose—the purpose of the educational system as a whole. When each activity plays its appropriate part in the achievement of a clearly defined objective there will be no lack of co-ordination in the curriculum.

Far too often it is the demands of a rigid time-table which determine the curriculum rather than the educational needs of the child. Once more this is a case of the machinery dominating the idea, the means usurping the place of the end. Other schools have much to learn from the kind of time-table in use in Nursery Schools. The question of whether or not some activity is to be introduced into the educational field depends upon whether a place can be found for it upon the time-table. The basic questions as to its relevance and as to its relative importance compared with other activities are not debated. If there is a demand for it and the demand is powerful enough and comes from those in a position of prestige, then a place is found for it and some other activity ceases or is curtailed. It is not surprising that upon many young people the educative process has a disintegrating effect. Order there must be, but it must be the order which is the servant of the purpose and not its master. It is probably in the direction of the fusion of subjects in the earlier stages and in the development of a general time-table allocating time to the Techniques, the Humanities,

Science, the Arts and the Crafts that a solution might be found. Even then there would of necessity be considerable overlapping.

A factor which has contributed to the development of the rigid time-table has been the increasing use of the specialist teacher. The effect is a snowball one. The teacher's whole training prior to his professional training course is one of increasing specialisation. He tends to develop a vested interest in his particular subject and this means that he comes to believe that it is his particular subject which is the essential thing in the educative process. Gradually his whole outlook narrows. His type of school educates; others just play at it. His subject is essential; all others are frills. So he tends to reproduce his kind educationally, a process which may flatter him but which can have nothing to commend it from an educational point of view. This has no connection with the provision of genuine equality of educational opportunity for all. It leads to a view that ability is ability in one direction only, and to a warped view of all other types of ability. The point at which specialisation is necessary, and the degree of specialisation needed, are matters still undetermined. This much can be said. When teachers themselves realise the true foundations of educational effort, and are themselves integrated personalities infused with the purpose of the good community, then many of the present evils of specialisation will disappear.

The need for research work has been stressed and becomes increasingly apparent. Some illuminating work has been done which serves to indicate the results that might follow if research were more general. In his book, *The Educational Needs of the 14-15 Group* (University of London Press Ltd.), Mr. A. Greenough describes one of the most fruitful of these experiments. He was faced with the problem developed by the application of a local bye-law raising the school leaving age to 15 plus, subject to exemptions on obtaining approved employment. In his preface he writes, "As these conditions came into being,

it became increasingly evident that they could not be met by extending the school course already existing, or by adding subjects or sections of subjects to a course already complete, for the group fluctuated considerably both in numbers and personnel. To meet the circumstances, an organisation providing for the functioning of a free group was devised. As described hereinafter, each boy in the free group was free, within as wide limits as the school's resources could permit, to choose how his time should be spent. It was not the adoption of the Dalton Plan in the sense that assignments were given to be worked out by each boy in his own time, but a scheme was deliberately planned to allow each boy to choose his activities as freely as possible." Those concerned with problems of the curriculum will find much stimulating data in the analyses of the activities selected by the boys. This work describes an attempt, which is worthy of careful attention and extension, to break away from preconceived notions of the rigid time-table.

Recently a Committee has been set up to review the whole question of the curriculum. It originated from a suggestion made by Mrs. P. Volkov, of the New Education Fellowship, and editor of *The New Era*, and Mrs. E. M. Hubback, of the Association for Education in Citizenship, and Principal of Morley College. Upon it are represented all branches of educational activity in the country. Some dozen sub-committees, each dealing with some particular part of the whole general field, are at work investigating and experimenting. A Co-ordinating Committee will prepare a final report. To be successful this work must be the co-operative effort of many people, and it is to be hoped that all those who can in any way contribute to the discussions, or assist in necessary experiments, will get into touch with the Honorary Secretaries to the Committee (Mesdames P. Volkov and E. M. Hubback), c/o The New Education Fellowship, 162, Westbourne Grove, London, W.11. The review visualised will occupy a considerable time, although

it is hoped that it will be possible to publish interim reports.

Bound up with this question of the relevant and integrated curriculum is that of the appropriate methods of education, and to this attention must now be directed.

The purpose of the educational effort of the community will influence the method of education employed. What were appropriate methods in the task of producing a literate people as rapidly as possible will not serve the purpose of the development of a cultured democratic community. It has been said that the essence of the older teaching method was "chalk and talk." There has been a considerable advance from this stage, but there is still a proneness to consider the classroom and the desk as symbolic of the teaching process. This derives from the view that education is restricted to what goes on in the classroom. It is often forgotten that the education of children and young persons goes on equally in the home, and in the factory or shop, in the club and on the streets. It may be argued that some of this is bad education, and so indeed it may be. So is some of that which goes on in schools. What has to be realised is that all this varied educative work has to be made explicit and integrated, and that educational method in its widest sense must take cognisance of it all. Educators must widen their conception of the educative process. The Headmaster who remarked, apropos of a proposal to open his school at certain hours as a play and hobbies centre, that he "knew how to make boys work but not how to direct their play" was only admitting his own limitations, and his addiction to the drug of current industrial and social conceptions. The Mad Priest in *John Bull's Other Island* was nearer the truth when he said, "I dream of a world in which work is play, and play is life; three in one and one in three." The whole point is that to the developing child and young person work and play and life should be alike all educative experience. The method which will achieve the desired results is that which brings to all the

activities of the child a feeling of their worthwhileness and satisfying quality.

An interesting example of the influence of old methods in a modern setting is to be found in some of the developments which have followed Hadow reorganisation. There has been a tendency to grade children in "streams" denoted by A, B, C, or some similar lettering. This follows from the rigid horizontal grading of the Hadow system. *Between* each school there is a horizontal grading; *within* each school a vertical one. The number of grades is not necessarily the same in all types of schools, since many Junior Schools take their entrants from several Infants' Schools, and similarly in the case of the Seniors. The following diagram illustrates this.

	A	B	C
Senior .			
Junior .			
Infants .			

Now it is interesting to ask why this fine grading is so prevalent and what are its advantages. Commonly it will be said that it makes for more individual teaching, but this is not always the case. What it does make for is the formation of a homogeneous group, in which the individuals comprising it are so equal in ability that they can be taught as a group. That is, it makes possible the perpetuation of the old method of class, mass instruction. The influence of the factory system might be traced here. It is the method of production of the standardised object. To say this is not to say that there is no place for group methods. In fact, one of the more urgent problems in the field of method is a determination of the fields of individual and group work. Certain techniques and skills have to be known by all members of a modern commun-

ity. At present the exact nature of these skills and techniques is unknown; the assumption is made that they are the same as those needed some seventy years ago, which is obviously untrue. It is to be suspected that they are fewer than those commonly stated as necessary and that some essential ones are as yet unconsidered in the educational field. More dangerous still is the fact that the essential common skills are sometimes viewed as those which are necessary to the individual's particular way of life. A certain Borough Treasurer believes that ability to transform fractions into decimals is an essential skill. The machines in his offices can perform every operation but this. Therefore, he argues, it is clear that this is an essential human skill, since ability to carry it out enables the human being to fit in with the machines. This may be an extreme case, but the mode of thought exhibited by it is not uncommon. Assuming, however, that the essential common skills have been determined, can they be taught by "class" methods? Then there will be group skills, needed over the field of activities bearing some resemblance one to the other. What of these? How is the class unit to give place to the necessary group units? After this will come individual skills needed in the exercise and development of individual interests. And skills and techniques are only means to an end, the end being educative experiences of a wide variety. What is the correct method for activities, and universal, group, and individual skills? What method can be devised whereby the group can split into its component individuals for the development of individual interests and coalesce again, into different groups for different purposes, in order to foster group and communal interests? In this connection the results of the experiments described in *The Educational Needs of the 14-15 Group*, to which reference has already been made, should be considered. The war has broken down some obstacles to experiment in this field, and the difficulties of the time furnish a great opportunity for research work in it. The creative leader

will make use of his difficulties and will refuse to be dictated to by them.

One great task which method must accomplish is a bridging of the gap between education as understood at present and the actual experiences of the child. The history questions quoted in the previous section could only have been answered by a series of words which had no concrete meaning for those who wrote them. What has to be determined is that environment which is both stimulating and conducive to growth. Method consists in bringing the child with certain potentialities into a situation which will afford an experience which will result in that development of his potentialities which is for him *his* education. That is why the narrow, mean environments described in earlier sections result in an atrophy of ability and not in its development. The problem can be stated thus. Here are children who have certain potential abilities. The full development of these is a necessary corollary to the principle that there must be genuine equality of educational opportunity for all. In order to make this development possible certain situations must be devised which stimulate these potentialities and provide the conditions for their growth. How can such situations be actualised, how can the child be brought into contact with them, and at what stage in his development must this be done in order that the result may be most beneficial? The answer gives the teaching method appropriate to any part of the field of education.

To say this is to make clear the impossibility of there being any one method appropriate to all situations. The pioneer may emphasise one method and through it achieve successes in one sphere. But the contributions of all the pioneers must be considered, and in any school in which a genuine effort is being made to work out an effective method there will be found elements due to many pioneers. To imitate one pioneer because he or she has been successful in one set of circumstances is to misunderstand the nature of the problem of method.

Method is the process by which the potentialities of the child are brought into contact with the situations in which they can be developed. In every situation the teacher is one element. The temperament and ability of the teacher affect the situation and must be considered in connection with the other elements. To think that the situations are identical when teachers with different qualities are concerned is to fail to understand the root of the matter. Hence it is that while principles may remain constant, the application of them will be always a matter for individual decision and application. It is this that makes it impossible any longer to "train" teachers in the rigid sense of the word. At a time when "teaching" was mass instruction this was possible; now it is out of the question. The new and wider conception of education implies that it is capacity to correlate the means to the end that is essential in the new teacher, and this correlation can only develop from sociological and psychological knowledge. Principles of method there are, but as the content of education widens, so it becomes less possible to *instruct* teachers as to their detailed application, and it becomes more urgent for them to apply the basic principles in a manner appropriate to the needs of the particular situation. Only creative teachers can hope to produce creative citizens.

In all this the need for experiment becomes again apparent. It would be easy to assert dogmatically that this or that method is the correct one and that the Open Sesame to the door of the cave where the riches of true education are to be found. It is harder to confess to an ignorance which ought not to exist. But if a recognition of our ignorance drives us to prosecute untiringly the search for knowledge, then the future is indeed bright.

Chapter IV

EDUCATIONAL RESEARCH

THE need for research and experimental work in the educational field has been apparent in every part of the field surveyed. There is a certain volume of such work in progress, but it needs direction and co-ordination. Much is connected with the determination of ability, both general and specific. Whole sections of the field are, on the other hand, at present unexplored.

The first question that arises is that of the personnel necessary to carry out the work. Those in attendance at the Training Colleges under the existing conditions are too immature to undertake it and have not, in general, that practical experience which is one of the factors in the background for research work since it should indicate the most fruitful lines of approach to it. The staffs of the Training Colleges again under present conditions are in general too overburdened by a variety of other duties to be able to devote the necessary thought to its planning and the time to its prosecution. The students in the Education Departments of the Universities are too engrossed in obtaining their professional qualifications; the staffs of such Departments carry out some experimental work but are again pressed for time. Some of those engaged in the actual work of teaching view their work experimentally and frequently arrive at results of value. But, as has been said, this work is unco-ordinated. There exists no body which records the results attained or which has any comprehensive knowledge of the work being attempted. Yet it is from the schools that the demand for research work should come. Far too many teachers are willing to repeat from day to day and from year to year the techniques which they acquired during their early years of teaching. Far too many, again, ask for no further reasons for teaching certain subjects or parts of subjects than that the timetable and the syllabuses in force demand it. The generation of teachers now entering the schools is perhaps

more experimentally minded than any that has preceded it. But they will be quickly disillusioned and frustrated if they feel that experimental work is not welcomed but looked upon as something which interferes with the normal routine. The attitude of administrators is vital. If it is felt that there is a genuine interest in, and desire to see, experimental work done in the schools, an atmosphere will be fostered which will be a support and encouragement to those willing to undertake it. So, too, the attitude of Head Teachers is significant. There are those whose attitude is to demand "solid teachers who will fit in" to the existing school regime. This means that the new teacher brings nothing new to the school. It postulates the mind willing to accept authority and the status quo. It is in opposition to the experimentally-minded democratic educator. Yet if a system is to be developed which will provide equality of educational opportunity for all children much experimental work will have to be done and done thoroughly. Here, as in other directions, the sincerity of our words will be proved by the thoroughness of our actions.

Experimental work carried out in the schools will not be sufficient. There will have to be a corps of carefully selected investigators able to devote their whole time to the task. Perhaps the best way of securing the necessary personnel would be to make it possible for selected teachers to return to some Research Institute for varying periods of from one to three years, after a spell of actual teaching work in the schools. This period should be available to any teacher possessing the necessary qualifications, without any detriment to his economic position or his professional status. The first condition means that the period should count for salary, increments and superannuation purposes, exactly as does actual teaching service, and that in addition any extra expense necessary for material or travelling should be allowed. The second condition means that participation in research work should be regarded as a qualification for promotion

and not as something of no use in the practical field.

This implies that much more money should be devoted to educational research than is the case at present. It is ridiculous that a community should allow the investigations upon which the soundness of its educational provision depends to rely upon private benefactions. If the community is serious in its educational aims it will see to it that this state of affairs is changed. Once such Research Institutes were established they would have a stimulating effect on the whole attitude to research work. Together with the provision of facilities for such work, there must be developed means of recording the work in progress and of making known the results obtained. Only by such means will it be possible to co-ordinate effort and to avoid overlapping and repetition. It would be necessary to establish a number of definitely experimental schools. At present, although much experimental work has been done within the schools of the State system, particularly in the Modern Senior Schools, the extent and results of it are comparatively unknown. The independent "progressive" schools have obtained a reputation for experiment which has not always been justified. Often they have been as rigidly expressive of one viewpoint as the most formal of the State Schools. To adhere rigidly to one theory and to permit no variation from it is not the mark of the experimentally-minded educationist.

It would be impossible to list all the sections of the whole educational field in which experiment is needed. The following are some of them:

- (a) *The abilities of children.*—There is a need to know the nature of these abilities, the ages at which they first appear and the ages at which they mature. There is also needed much more knowledge of the methods by which they can be diagnosed and assessed. Are some of them mutually exclusive and are some always found in conjunction?

- (b) *The needs of society*.—Which abilities are best fitted to various types of employment? In order to make a coherent and rich society what abilities are necessary? Are these available in the requisite quantities?
- (c) *Problems of method*.—At what age do various activities produce a maximum result? What methods stimulate potentialities and produce the most complete development? How should the method used vary with the age of the child or the type of activity? How can teaching and learning be made complementary?
- (d) *Problems of content*.—When should certain activities be first introduced? What activities are necessary for everyone? What are group activities and what individual?
- (e) *Psychological problems*.—What are the causes of emotional mal-adjustment and how can they be prevented? How can emotional and temperamental traits be best assessed? How do they affect intellectual development?
- (f) *Problems arising from defects*.—How can physically defective children of various types be best educated? What are the effects of speech defects and how can these be handled?

There are, of course, many others under each of the headings given, and many more headings are needed if the whole field is to be covered. The point is that at present we are unable to reap the result of our present efforts because we lack the essential knowledge. There is far too much complacency about our educational system, and far too many teachers are "teachers by the grace of God." They believe they know all that needs to be known without the exercise of that *huriful* mental process by which alone real wisdom comes. There is little genuine cause for such complacency. Perhaps the way in which schools rejoice over one successful old scholar is a

measure of that unconscious recognition of the fact that they fail with so many. The test of success is simple. It is whether every child develops to the full all those potentialities with which he is endowed. Nothing less will do. Nothing less can achieve the kind of community of which men have dreamed so much and towards which they have moved so little. Until we have more knowledge there can be no real equality of educational opportunity. If we genuinely desire the latter we shall be prepared to undertake the task and we shall not be content until we have the knowledge which makes its realisation possible.

Chapter V

TEACHERS AND OTHERS

A CONCEPTION of education such as that outlined in the preceding chapters will only be realised when education becomes the vital concern of all the members of the community. In other words, every member of the community will become a guardian of the rights of childhood and adolescence. Under such conditions the service of education will take its rightfully important place in the life of the community and the value of educational work will be recognised by all. It will be "a service of such prestige as can attract to itself the ablest, most clear-sighted and most forceful minds the nation possesses."

This section is concerned with the relationship of the adult section of the community to education. All will need to have some interest in it. Some will have in it a vocational interest, others a parental interest, but all will be motivated by the desire to provide real equality of educational opportunity for all children. "What a wise and understanding parent provides for his own children, that a wise and understanding community will provide for all its children." Of those more directly concerned with education, the "Board" and its officers, the staffs of the Local Education Authorities, the teachers and the parents are the main group. A brief reference must be made to each.

The Minister responsible for the service is the President of the Board, and it is unfortunate that whatever lip service is paid to the importance of this office, in practice it is a refuge after failure in other posts, or a stepping-stone to those considered of far greater importance. Presidents come and go with almost bewildering rapidity. It is a favourite post to use as a pawn in any Cabinet reshuffle. While this section was being written changes were announced in the Government involving the appointment of a new President of the Board of Education. One of the most widely circulated of the daily papers commented

as follows upon them: "Apart from the announcement that . . . is to go on a mission to the Far East . . . the changes are of minor importance." Nothing could illustrate more forcibly the need there is for a changed outlook upon the significance of the educational service in a community. It indicates the value at which education is at present assessed. A service as wide as the one visualised in this volume, and as pregnant with meaning for the welfare of the community as it would be, can come only from a changed set of social values. It is believed that the present crisis is causing that critical review and restatement of the basic principles of the community which will result in such changed values. From being the Cinderella of the Government Departments, education must become the pivotal point of them all.

The Board's staff can be divided into two sections—administrative and inspectorial. The first group is concerned with the central administration of the educational services; the function of the second has changed considerably in recent years. Originally they were exactly what their name suggests. They inspected and examined schools and upon their Reports depended the grant payable and the salary received by the Head Teachers. Now they act as Liaison Officers between the Board and the Local Authorities and in their inspectorial duties have adopted an advisory and consultative outlook in place of the rigid inspectorial one.

But it is the exception and not the rule to find in the Board's officers that belief in the democratic educational faith which can alone make them competent leaders in the community's educational crusade. Many are full of most excellent intentions and strive earnestly to implement them. The essential desiderata are, however, a faith in democratic education and the will to follow out all the implications of that faith to the end. It may be that within the framework of the existing society, with its present values, they are conditioned to act in the recognised manner. It may be that the traditions of their employ-

ment prove too strong for much initiative or originality to be shown. It may be that the methods of selection and training are wrong. Some Inspectors are recruited into that service from the ranks of the teachers. They are recruited as Assistant Inspectors, while those recruited from the Universities, at a much younger age, commence as Inspectors—not Assistants. Further promotion from the lower rank to the higher is not general. The great need is that the education service as a whole, by reason of its significance for the welfare of the community, should take on a new importance and dignity. Those employed in the service should be considered as a unitary body and there should be freedom of transfer between the local and central administrative staffs, the local and central inspectorial staffs, the teaching staffs and the research staffs. With a service having a high sense of its mission, there could be no question of maintaining the "rights" of one section against the "demands" of another. It should be the welfare of the service as a whole, and the consideration of the most effective way in which to help it to fulfil its proper function, that should be the determinants of the actions of those employed in it.

What has been said of the Board's administrative and inspectorial staff is equally applicable to the staffs of the Local Education Authorities. There is an increasing tendency to demand educational experience as one of the essential qualifications for administrative work, but a minimum amount is far too often held to be sufficient. It is still true that far too many of those engaged in the administration of education understand and appreciate "to a limited degree only, if at all, the ideals, abilities, aspirations, character and culture of the mass of the people." Teaching and administration must be looked upon not as occupations having a different social status, but as branches of one service for which suitability alone is the deciding factor in selection. It may be necessary to reconsider the whole question of payment for the two

branches of the service. It is clear that economic considerations alone should not convert a good teacher into a bad administrator, or produce an administrator thoroughly inexperienced in the practical side of the function of teaching.

If there is truth in the thesis which has been expounded in the previous pages, then certain deductions can be made as to the selection and training of teachers. One thing would appear to be clear. Young people who are still properly subject to the educative process cannot be claimed to be trained teachers. To expect young people of twenty and twenty-one to be competent to prepare children and other young people for an experience in which they have not themselves fully participated is to expect the impossible.

There is still no finer statement of the function of the teacher than that contained in two statements of one who was himself a great teacher. Of the beginning of his ministry Christ said, "I came that ye might have life and that ye might have it more abundantly." At the end he told his disciples, "It is expedient for you that I go away." Every teacher has to give to his pupils that more abundant life; he has to have sufficient faith in his work to have the courage to "go away" progressively as his pupils develop and the need for "props" diminishes. This implies that the teacher's work has to have that spontaneity which is the characteristic of creative life. To the teacher his work and his life must be identical.

Now it must be admitted that much teaching work does not at present possess these qualities. The reasons are many and it would require considerable sociological research to discover them all. They are confused by a mass of rationalisations, prejudices and wishful thinking upon the matter. What are the effects of the system whereby most teachers are selected and trained? The typical history of the majority of teachers is the transfer examination at 11 plus, the School Certificate at 15 plus, the Higher School Certificate, the two years' training

course, and then back to the schools to urge others round the course which they themselves followed with success, under the impression that that which produced them must be genuine education. Perhaps they have a realisation of the insufficiency and unsatisfactoriness of this. For a time they attempt to break the vicious circle. Then frustration succeeds high hopes, and an apathetic acceptance of existing conditions follows frustration. Some others come into the service, now in increasing numbers, after a four-year course, the first three of which are spent in obtaining a University Degree and the last one in obtaining a Teaching Diploma.

What changes are necessary in the selection and training of teachers? It should be clear from the general thesis of this volume that any community gets the kind of teachers it deserves from the point of view that many of the changes necessary to secure better teachers are changes in the values of the community itself. Only planning for economic security for all will abolish the desire for economic security as a motive for entering the teaching profession. Only the provision of cultural activities for all—travel, the use of books, facilities for various sports, music, drama and art—without their use involving economic penalties, will destroy the idea that the teacher's life is richer than that of many of his fellows. Only the diagnosis and development of abilities and a recognition of the fact that their fullest use leads alike to individual happiness and communal welfare will abolish the possibility of young people becoming teachers because there is nothing else for them to do after the one-track education they have received. The remedy for many of the evils lies in the values of society. Given economic security for all, and a provision of genuine equality of educational opportunity, the field would be "cleared of weed" and "prepared for growth."

But changes in the present system of selection and training of teachers would be necessary. The decision to enter the teaching profession has to be made far too early

and without any real knowledge as to suitability for the work. The trial periods in industry or commerce referred to earlier would be of value to all teachers. It is this want of real contact with the work and life of people outside the profession that makes so much teaching lack concreteness. It may be true that in their early days teachers have had knowledge, through parents or other relatives, of conditions in other forms of employment. But this is not enough. It is the inside experience that is so necessary. First-hand knowledge is more educative than that obtained second-hand can ever be.

The Training Colleges have, in general, made great progress during the last decade, although some remain boarding schools for adolescents. Will there be a place for them in the new scheme? The argument usually is that it is not necessary for all teachers to be graduates. This seems to be using the language of existing institutions in the attempt to describe those of the future. It would perpetuate the social status of certain branches of knowledge, not because they are of primary educational value, but because of their past history. To take a concrete example, is there any good reason why the Nursery School teacher with a detailed accurate knowledge of the social and psychological needs of the 2-7 year old child be termed a non-graduate, while the Senior School teacher of mathematics should be labelled "graduate" and so acquire a higher status and a higher economic reward? Again, does not the Junior School teacher, capable of diagnosing potentialities and stimulating their growth, do as valuable work as, say, the teacher of Latin in the present Secondary Schools? Every teacher, in whatever part of the whole field from the Nursery School to the University he or she is to work in, needs:

- (a) *A knowledge of sociology and political philosophy, i.e. knowledge of the various patterns of society; and of the structure and function of his or her own society.*

- (b) *A knowledge of psychology*, i.e. a knowledge of the modes of functioning of the human mind and of the factors which influence his actions and his relations with his fellows, together with a knowledge of the best available means of diagnosis and stimulation of potentialities.
- (c) *A background of general knowledge*, i.e. a field against which the relative importance and value of any particular subject can be determined.
- (d) *A particular knowledge* of any specific subject to be taught.
- (e) *A knowledge of educational method* and history.
- (f) *A living faith* in the importance of their work.

Is this demanding too much? The service under consideration is that by which the community ensures its continuance and its progress. Its teachers must be amongst the keenest and most creative persons it produces. They must have the necessary sociological, psychological and technical knowledge if they are to be creative and not mere imitators of established modes.

All this seems to imply that (a), (b), (c), (e) and (f) above are part of the equipment of all teachers, and that (d) is an additional requirement which varies with the nature of the work to be undertaken. The would-be Nursery School teacher and the would-be University lecturer would require variation in the field covered under (d)—the future University lecturer would study his chosen subject in detail and the future Nursery School teacher would study the fields of sensory and physical development.

This seems to indicate a scheme of training somewhat as under. The potential teacher would continue in full-time education until the age of 18 and during the last two years of this period care would be taken to develop dawning aptitudes for special subjects, while at the same time much more care and time would be devoted to the general cultural background of the student than is now the case.

From about 18 to 20 years of age would follow two years at some educational institution (it is better at this stage to avoid the discussions aroused by existing names, such as Universities or Training Colleges) in which the main courses taken should be:

- (a) A course in sociology.
- (b) One in psychology.
- (c) A continuation of the course in the chosen subject or group of subjects.

At least six months of this period should be devoted to actual teaching work in the capacity of "apprentices." After this should follow the pre-adult year taken in common with all other people of this age—six months' military training and six months' civics. Not until this point is reached should any decision as to the entry into the teaching profession be made. Those who were considered suitable should then attend a further two years' training in which the more detailed psychological courses would be taken, any selected subject or group of subjects further studied and educational method and history dealt with. It may be objected that this is in effect a five years' training scheme and that economic factors would prevent its realisation. The possibility or impossibility of it turns upon the view that is taken of the value to the community of its teachers. The Public School teacher has this length of training now and does not commonly study either sociology or psychology or methodology during it. If we genuinely believe in real equality of educational opportunity the inference is plain.

Parents are the last group of adults who are closely connected with the educational work of the community. To put them last is not to infer that their importance is least. There is a welcome increase in the interest which parents are taking in educational matters. It is true that this interest is perhaps more connected with the economic and social aspects of the matter than with the more genuinely educational one. But the increasing interest

means increasing opportunities to discuss matters and to enlist active support for sound educational provision. The development of Teacher-Parent societies is excellent. It is often those parents who are in a precarious position either socially or economically, fearful of losing position status or security or both, who tend to view education from the wrong standpoint. Again the remedy lies in society itself. Given general economic security many educational evils could be eliminated. Through Parent-Teacher associations much educative work can be done and a sense of partnership can be fostered which adds to the realisation of the desired changes. A miner once stopped an Education Officer to thank him for sending his child on a school journey. He said, "Do any of them up there (he meant the Borough Council at the Town Hall) ever try to stop your work?" The Education Officer admitted that occasionally they did. To which the miner replied, "You tell we chaps about that and we'll deal with them." When all parents are so willing to exercise their democratic rights in the cause of education, the battle for genuine equality of educational opportunity will have been won.

Chapter VI

ADMINISTRATION AND FINANCE

THE foregoing sections have made it obvious why a radical change in the areas of educational administration and finance is a matter of such urgency. A system such as that which has been outlined can be properly administered only when the unit of administration is appropriate to the purpose of the service. A system of grants which has developed by a process of adding a stimulating percentage, now to this part of the service and now to that, must be replaced by one which considers the obligations of the community as a whole to its educational service and the particular needs and resources of each area. No considerations of prestige or vested interests can be allowed to stand in the way of revision of these aspects of education from the point of view of the development of that service of education which is essential to the well-being of the community.

The scheme of education outlined in this volume demands that there should be a single type of educational authority. To leave some authorities responsible only for primary education (i.e. education up to the age of 12 plus or 13) is obviously impossible. The old conception of elementary education as that of the *sole* education of many children is dead, although it has been a long time in dying. It has been replaced by a conception of primary education up to 12 plus or 13 followed by some kind of secondary education for all, this education being fitted to the potentialities and needs of the children. Formerly elementary education was a system by itself—one of three to be found in this country. Now it is but one stage in one system. The old arrangement made it logical that there should be authorities for elementary education and authorities for secondary education. The new plan makes it equally logical that there should be only one type of authority. But merely to make all existing authorities full authorities would not meet the needs of the situation.

New areas must be delineated and they must be formed on the basis of educational considerations alone.

At various times different committees have suggested remedies for the existing state of affairs. The Hadow Committee recommended that there should be:

- (a) Co-operation between Part III and Part II Authorities with a view to a common consideration of the problems of post-primary education.
- (b) Legislation transferring to Part II Authorities powers and duties of such Part III Authorities as fall below a certain minimum population, and the granting of Part II powers to such Part III Authorities as exceeded this minimum.

It visualised these steps being subsequently followed by legislation creating new authorities in which both Part II and Part III Authorities would be merged.

The May Committee on National Expenditure stated in its report: "First among the changes we consider necessary in the interests of efficient administration we would place the reduction in the number of authorities by the concentration of all educational functions, as far as Local Authorities are concerned, in the hands of the County and County Borough Councils."

Neither of these remedies will meet the needs of the present situation. The solution to the problem is bound up with the whole question of Local Government and its relationship to the Central Government. It may well be that the area of appropriate size and population for one service is different from that for another service. The whole question must be considered in the light of the need to provide throughout the whole country equality of educational opportunity for all, and the nature of the unit which makes for the most effective implementation of this principle. A community which is genuine in its belief in this purpose will not be deflected from the appropriate course of action by any vested interest, whether political, social or economic.

Chapter VII

BEYOND THE WAR

THE thesis of this volume may be stated very generally in the following terms. To a community there comes, throughout its history, a variety of challenges, the nature of which depends upon circumstances of time and place. Each new territory—physical, intellectual or moral—that is conquered is the seed-plot of some further challenge to the creative powers of the community. The last hundred years have witnessed a series of scientific discoveries and inventions which have solved most of the more urgent problems of production. Now a crisis has developed because the community can produce but cannot use the available products effectively. The present challenge is therefore one to man himself in the field of his springs to action, and to the conception he has, and is willing to implement, of the function and purpose of his life. The answer to this challenge is to be found in the social and political system which he sets up. The acuteness of the challenge is evidenced by the intense antagonisms of the rival solutions.

This volume is based on a faith that only the genuine democratic solution can permit of the development of all the potentialities of all men and that it is, therefore, the only one which can result in a satisfactorily full life for everyone. The community which provides for a genuine development of all the potentialities of all its members must of necessity develop a greater creative power than that which provides only for the partial development of some of its members.

But in order to capitalise its latent richness and power the democratic community must continuously integrate within itself its youth, for it has no other reservoir of energy. This means that it must have both the desire and the will to establish a system of education which is based upon the rock of genuine equality of educational opportunity for all, and which is stimulative and growth-

conducive of all the potentialities of all its children and young people.

The present day, which is a symbol of the new challenge to the community reaching its point of crisis, is also therefore the only proper moment in which to determine the appropriate response. The challenge is much more in the life of the community than to the strength of its armed forces. The response must be ultimately in the same realm as that in which the challenge originated, and that realm is concerned with the principles by which the community lives and the values for which it lives. It will be as fatal to postpone the meeting of the fundamental challenge as it would have been to have failed to meet the immediate expression of it in the form of a physical threat.

The conditions brought into being by the incidence of totalitarian war upon the educational system of the community are not all evil, particularly when the importance of a reorientation and revitalisation of the system is considered. These conditions should have two results; they should lead to a thorough-going overhaul of what is already to be found in the system. Where there has to be some curtailment or some revaluation, it is necessary that careful thought should be given to what should be retained and what can be abandoned without real loss. What is retained must be all those features which furnish the satisfactory "jumping off" ground for the new advance. This is not to be taken as implying that it is wise to curtail educational facilities in war-time. The truth is entirely opposite to this. But it is obvious that the educational service cannot expect to remain unaffected by the needs of the war effort. The great need is to see to it that the things abandoned are not those which will be most needed as the starting-point for future developments. But more than this conservative action is possible during the war. The crisis brings with it the breakdown of the old traditions and established procedure and the demand for new solutions to educational problems. It is this

aspect of the situation which is so important. It means that an unrivalled opportunity is presented for experiments which if properly planned and directed should provide much interesting and important knowledge. Again, the experiment should not be devised merely to solve a problem immediately urgent. It should at the same time be planned so that it will provide facts of much wider value. It is useless to "dig in" and await the attack of the enemy, and this is true in every sphere of activity, not only in the military one. Offensive power must be developed and nowhere is this more needed than in the field of providing a sound system of education for all.

The needs of the war-time situation have resulted in certain developments along lines of advance which can be made of permanent value, if they are viewed and developed as part of a unified effort in the service of a great purpose. Amongst these developments, sadly in need of a unification of purpose and an integration of effort, are:

- (a) *The Canteen Service*.—The demands of war-time rationing schemes have acted as a stimulus to a service which should be extended and freed from any social or economic implications in peace-time. It should be so developed that it becomes the means whereby the community ensures that all its pre-adult members are adequately nourished.
- (b) *War-time Nurseries*.—Here again, the demands of the war situation have stimulated consideration of the problem of the pre-school child (within the present meaning of the term). It is unfortunate that a title has been given to this form of educational provision which would appear to suggest that it serves a war-time need alone. It is also unfortunate that the service has not been set up as an integrated part of the total educational effort, and that proper standards of equipment and staffing

have not been insisted upon. The Board of Education seem to have abdicated this field and to have handed over their function to the Ministry of Health. The opportunity for experimental work is there, and so is the chance to prove the value of the Nursery Schools. It could be made so effective that it would be impossible to drop it after the war; but it can also be allowed to develop so unsatisfactorily that genuine progress will be retarded.

- (c) *Evacuation.*—This has furnished an opportunity for experiment on a wide scale, but it is doubtful whether the opportunity is being seized upon. Some of the points upon which knowledge should now be accumulating are the effect of different types of environment on different types of temperament; the immediate and long-range effects of a change of environment upon children; the effect of the age of the children upon the problem. In addition to all these points there is a great opportunity to experiment boldly with the curriculum and to consider the relationship between an environment and the curriculum. What elements in the latter, for example, should be always present, whatever the environment, and what elements should vary with the latter? The possibility of testing the efficacy of Boarding Schools for a different group of children to those commonly using them is being missed.

But these lines of experimental investigation cannot be allowed to blind the educationist to the main issue raised by the challenge of which the war is one manifestation. They are only mentioned in order to negative the all too common supposition that nothing can be done now and that even to discuss what can be done after the war is to detract from the war effort. The community which is fighting for an end of real value is the one which

will survive. If a means—and success in the physical conflict *is* but a means to a higher end—is allowed to usurp the place of the end, then final defeat confronts the community which so falsifies its values. The educationist, and indeed every member of the community, must become increasingly aware of the purpose of the community of which he is a member. This purpose must be the development and utilisation of all the potentialities of all the members, for only through this can come individual happiness and communal well-being. For this to be possible there must be genuine educational opportunity for all. This will yield ever-increasing returns, for it will add continuously to the creative power of the community. The development of such an educational service will be followed by a development of the power to recognise and realise more and more of the potentialities of men. And this recognition and realisation, reinforced by faith in the democratic educational ideal, will result in an extension of the provision of opportunities in the service of newly realised potentialities. The vista is unlimited—but the task is an immediate one. The educational system of the community must be so changed that it provides genuine equality of opportunity within the limits of our present knowledge. It must be so fluid that with increasing knowledge further progress can be made.

There is no alleviation for the sufferings of mankind except veracity of thought and action, and a resolute facing of the world as it is. Thought will often hurt if it is genuine thought; the action will be difficult if it is a following of the truth; the facing of the world of to-day will demand reserves of courage. But the end will be worthy of the labour involved, for it will be no less than:

*A new race, dominating previous ones,
and grander far, with new contests,
With new politics, new literatures and art.*

Whitman had the vision, and having been moved by it, he adds:

I will sleep no more, but arise.

That is the attitude which must be taken by educationists, both in war-time and after. There must be no more contentment with what is known to be unsatisfactory. Each must dedicate himself or herself anew to a cause upon which is dependent the welfare of all. Each must demand for all that which he desires for himself—genuine equality of opportunity. Then in the individual and in the community will develop such possibilities for good that cannot as yet be more than dimly apprehended, for at long last to all will be open “the chance to be men.”

INDEX

A

Administration, 6, 64, 70, 142, 147,
155
Adolescents, 42, 50
Adult Education, 21, 46, 89, 93, 125
Adventure, 16, 24, 99, 125
Æsthetics, 67
Art, 89, 92
Authoritarianism, 16, 96, 99, 112

B

Background, 99
Bases, 99
Benedict, Ruth, 25
Board of Education, 31, 42, 56, 70,
160
Circulars, 84
President of, 8, 70, 146
Publications of, 11, 42, 54, 56, 66

C

Canteens, 159
Cattell, R. B., 26
Challenge, 1, 4, 6, 49, 96, 99, 112,
125, 157
Charity, 13, 16, 45, 108, 112
Chesterfield, 88
Citizenship, 103, 118, 122, 126
Clarke, F., 8, 34, 47, 127
Classics, 13
Clinics, 119
Commercial Schools, 68
Education, 90
Competition, 5, 24
Continuation Schools, 11
Day, 51
Creches, 119
Crisis, 24, 40, 68
Culture, 25, 33, 38, 50
Curricula, 6, 31, 50, 64, 79, 126, 135

D

Democracy, 4, 7, 16, 26, 92, 96, 99,
111, 157
Dissenter Tradition, 14, 47

E

East Suffolk, 86
Education, 5, 6, 16, 36
Adult, 21
Committees, Assoc of, 9
English, 38
History of, 8, 11
Primary, 57
Secondary, 39, 57
Technical, 11
Educational System, 6, 31, 38, 43,
112, 130
New, 119
Opportunity, 94
Educationists, 6, 16, 27
Elementary Schools, 11, 46, 50, 54,
79
System, 11, 50, 54, 59, 63, 95
Tradition, 14
Emotional Disturbance, 105, 108
Engineering, 66, 92
English, 67
Environment, 19, 27, 117, 139, 160
Equipment, 57
Evacuation, 22, 160
Evening Institutes, 46, 70, 89
Examinations, 59, 63, 67, 106, 117,
123

F

Federal Union, 35
Federation, 35
Finance, 70, 75, 117, 155
Fisher, H. A. L., 48, 49
Folk Tradition, 15, 34, 47
Freedom, 60
Frustration, 5, 69, 142, 150

G

Geography, 13, 67
Glasgow, 20
Goschen, Lord, 97
Grammar Schools, 57
Greenough, A., 134

H

Hadow, Sir W. H., 42, 49, 53, 66,
73, 123, 156

Hartshorn and May, 27
 Health, 105, 108
 Ministry of, 160
 Hertfordshire, 87
 History, 13, 67

I

Industry, 12
 Infant Schools, 45, 59, 122
 Inspectorate, 70, 147
 Integration, 22, 28, 88

J

Junior Schools, 53, 123, 131
 Junior Technical Schools, 11, 66
 Juvenile Organisations Committees,
 84

L

Languages, Modern, 13, 67
 Latin, 31, 81
 League of Nations, 34
 Lewis, C. Day, 27
 Local Authorities, 51, 57, 70, 148,
 156

M

Mal-adjustment, 30, 109
 Malnutrition, 105, 107
 Marshall, Howard, 19
 Mathematics, 13, 67, 79
 May, Hartshorn and, 27
 Mental Age, 80
 Mercantilism, 11
 Methods, 6, 79, 126, 136
 Milton, 14
 Miners' Welfare Committees, 93
 Modern Schools, 57, 66
 Morgan, A. E., 52

N

Nurseries, 159
 Nursery Schools, 45, 51, 59, 109, 122

O

Opportunity, Equality of, 100, 102,
 128, 145
 Organisation, 6
 Organisations, Informal, 46

P

Personality, 32
 Physical Education, 64, 67, 85
 Planning, 36
 Primary Education, 57
 Psychological Centre, 30, 109
 Research, 80, 110
 Public School Tradition, 13
 System, 11, 13, 95
 Public Schools, 11, 45, 79

R

Reconstruction, 6, 9, 128
 Reorganisation, 40, 56, 89, 95
 Hadow, 42, 62
 Reports, Hadow, 42, 53, 54, 66, 73,
 123, 156
 Shoreditch Housing Assoc., 19
 Spens, 11, 66, 123
 Young Adult in S. Wales, 19
 Research, 5, 7, 10, 15, 24, 35, 79,
 110, 129, 141
 Response, 1, 49, 96, 114, 158
 Retardation, 30
 Rugby, 52
 Rural Community Councils, 93

S

School Leaving Age, 9, 116, 126,
 134
 Schools, "Big," 45
 Commercial, 68
 Continuation, 9
 Elementary, 11, 79, 131
 Grammar, 57
 Infants, 45, 59, 122
 Junior, 53, 123, 131
 Junior Technical, 11, 66
 Modern, 57
 Modern Senior, 53, 66, 89
 Nursery, 45, 51, 59, 109, 122, 131
 Public, 11, 79
 Secondary, 11, 57, 67, 79, 120,
 131
 Technical High, 11, 66
 Science, 13, 67, 79
 Scott, L. P., 19
 Secondary Schools, 11, 57, 67, 79,
 120, 131
 Education, 57
 School System, 63, 95

Security, 16, 24, 59, 100
 Self expression, 16
 Senior Schools, 53, 66, 89
 Shoreditch Housing Assoc., Report
 for, 19
 Smuts, J. C., 113
 Snobbery, 32, 80
 Social Pattern, The, 22, 32
 Conditions, 31
 Society, The Challenge to, 4
 Institutions of, 5
 Values of, 5
 Sociology, 7, 8, 34, 79, 110
 South Wales, The Young Adult in,
 20
 Spens Report, 11, 66, 123
 Staffing, 32, 57, 85
 System, Elementary, 11, 50, 54, 59,
 63, 95
 Pre-Hadow, 42
 Public School, 11, 13, 95
 Secondary, 11, 63, 95

T

Teachers, 125, 134, 140, 146
 National Union of, 9
 Training of, 149
 Teaching Power, 83
 Technical Education, 11, 89
 Colleges, 11, 89, 120
 High Schools, 11, 66
 Schools, 11
 Testing, Mental, 30, 124
 Attainments, 42, 124

Times Educational Supplement, The,
 16, 87, 98, 102, 103, 114,
 127
 Time-tables, 133
 Totalitarianism, 4, 6, 96
 Tradition, Influence of, 31, 60, 79
 Traditions, English Educational,
 11, 13, 147
 Training Colleges, 141, 151
 Trevelyan, Sir Charles, 9

U

Unemployment, 2, 20, 106
 Universities, 120

V

Vested interests, 7, 9, 29, 39, 65,
 134, 156

W

Westmorland, 87
 Whitman, W., 162
 Workers' Educational Assoc., 93

Y

Youth, 28
 Committees, 84
 Leaders, 85
 Movement, 16, 28, 70, 84
 Needs of, 52
 Organisation, 46